MONGOL ELEMENTS IN MANCHU

by

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INTRODUCTION

When in 1956 Sir Gerard Clauson offered his theory that the regular sound correspondences among the Turkic, Mongol, and Tungus languages were the result of extensive early borrowing rather than genetic relationship, he re-ignited a sometimes acrimonious and always spirited debate between the pro-Altaicists (maintaining a genetic relationship) and the anti-Altaicists (maintaining early and extensive loan contact). In the past twenty years the Altaic Controversy has served as a marvelous tonic for an ailing discipline. From this period have come excellent studies of Altaic lexicon, most notably Clauson's Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish and Doerfer's Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, as well as critiques of methodology such as Sinor's 1963 review of of N. Poppe's Vergleichende Grammatik der Altaischen Sprachen. That such scholarship had an effect on the field can be seen by the fact that the leading pro-Altaicist, N. Poppe, changed his opinion concerning a number of words he had previously regarded as evidence of genetic relationship.[1]

In recent years the Altaic controversy has led to what might be termed a synthesis of the pro- and anti-Altaicist theses. There is now a general consensus among scholars (see, for example, Rona-Tas' 1976 article "On the Meaning of Altaic") that many of the sound correspondences ascribed in the past to genetic relationship are in fact due to loan influence. But this consensus further maintains that there exist a number of common words which cannot be ascribed to borrowing and which do indeed deserve the label "Altaic".

The primary tasks facing current scholars in the area of Altaic lexicon are the separation of loan material from the native stock of a target language, the analysis and classification of this material into different strata (if

contact has occurred at more than one period in the history of the language) and the study of that remaining native lexicon which exhibits regular sound correspondences to the lexicon of the other Altaic languages.

Manchu, the language of the founders of the Ch'ing dynasty of China, is the only Tungus language with a long and full literary history. The writing of Manchu dates back to the early 17th century and corresponds to the political rise of the Manchus from their tribal homeland in Manchuria to become first the rulers of North China and the steppe region, and then of all China. Manchu is written with a script adapted from the Mongols (the Uighur script) and modified by the addition of diacritic marks which eliminate the phonetic ambiguities inherent to that script.

While the Manchu language was slowly replaced by Chinese during the course of the Ch'ing dynasty's long history (1644-1911), so that today Manchu is virtually a dead language,[2] Manchu survived in written form as a chancellery language well into the present century. In addition, members of the Sibe tribe who were moved as a military garrison to Sinkiang in 1765 and thus escaped Sinification, still speak their native language, a dialect of Manchu.

Though Manchu is the only Tungus language with an accessible corpus of literary monuments, it must be noted that Jurchen, the language of the Chin dynasty of China (1115-1234), also left written records. Unfortunately these remain undeciphered and are accessible only through Chinese glossaries. This limited material makes clear that Jurchen is closely related to Manchu linguistically. Though it is not the parent of Manchu, Jurchen clearly was in a dialect relationship with an earlier form of Manchu.[3]

The other Tungus languages are known through travellers' notes from the 17th to the 20th centuries and by the ex-

cellent lexicographic and other linguistic research of the Leningrad-based Tungusologists of the Soviet Union in the present day. A number of the Tungus languages of the Soviet Union now have written languages developed as part of Soviet minority language policy. Nevertheless, in lexicographic representation Manchu remains even now unsurpassed among the Tungus languages.

Linguistic connections between Manchu and the Mongolian language were noticed quite early by scholars, as the two languages share many words which are virtually identical in phonetic shape and in meaning. The first scholar to devote an article to Mongol-Manchu sound correspondences was P. Schmidt in the year 1898,[4] while Willy Bang, the noted Turkologist, in 1924 published an article which examined Turkic correspondences in Manchu. Bang ended the article by noting that many of the words discussed were likely to have been borrowed through a Mongol intermediary.

In his 1930 article the Mongolist G.D. Sanžeev listed a number of problems raised by sound change in words of Mongol origin in Manchu. Though he was unable to give more than tentative answers to these problems, his work remained until now the most comprehensive on the subject. In 1938 the Altaicist Kotwicz, like Bang before him, elected to study Turkic elements in Manchu, though a number of correspondences treated in his article also had a possible Mongol intermediary. These works by Schmidt, Bang, Sanžeev and Kotwicz mark the end of the early period of study of Mongol and Turkic elements in the Manchu language.

A number of advances in scholarship in the post-war period have greatly aided the work of Manchu lexicon study. Among these are the appearance of comparative phonologies of the Tungus languages written by Tsintsius in 1949 and Benzing in 1955, and a comparative phonology of Mongolian produced by N. Poppe in 1955.

The Hungarian savant L. Ligeti, using Chinese glosses from Chin and Ming times, demonstrated in his 1960 article the value of using Jurchen and Kitan reconstructions for the establishment of both absolute and relative chronologies for sound change in Mongol loans into Manchu. The publication in 1969 of Yamamoto's study of a speaker of the Sibe dialect of Manchu has further enhanced the field, as did Kiyose's 1977 work on Jurchen. But the greatest contribution to Manchu lexicon studies and, in fact, to Tungus studies in general, has been the Sravnitel'nij slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskikh jazykov [Comparative Dictionary of the Manchu-Tungus Languages] of which Volume I appeared in 1975 and Volume II in 1977. This work, under the general editorship of V.I. Tsintsius, brings together all the words of a single etymon in all the Tungus languages, so that the developments in the individual languages can be compared at a glance. It is not exaggeration to say that this work finally makes possible a comprehensive investigation of Mongol elements in Manchu - the aim of this study - and also of future full-scale study dealing with the lexicon of any or all of the Tungus languages.

The compilers of the Sravnitel'nij slovar', drawing on the works of Poppe, Ramstedt, Vladimirtsov and Sanžeev, as well as on their own initiative, included in their work Mongol correspondences to the Tungus etymon groupings. With these correspondences as a base[5] I have added those proposed by other scholars and supplemented these with correspondences noticed in the course of my own lexicographic research. These correspondences are treated individually in the Lexicon,[6] and are assigned to one of a number of categories according to the available evidence.

The methodology for determining loan relationships and the direction of the loan may be phonological, semantic, or etymological in nature. The phonological method for

ascertaining loan direction involves the prohibition in Manchu against final consonants other than -n. Thus, in the case of a correspondence such as Manchu ayara "sour milk, buttermilk" ~ Mongol ayiraγ "fermented milk of mares or cows", the loan direction must be Mongol → Manchu; a loan in the other direction would yield Mongol *ayira.

The semantic method for loan direction has to do with the narrowing of meaning encountered in the borrowed form in comparison to the semantic range in the donor form. This can be seen in the case of Mongol ayimaγ "tribe, clan; aimak ...class, category, species, genus, world (in nature); part of speech; faculty or department..." ~ Manchu aiman "tribe". In this case the narrowing of meaning (in addition to the phonology) indicates the direction of the loan as Mongol → Manchu.

The etymological method can be shown by the correspondence Mongol amila- "to give life, enliven, let live, spare a life; to animate an image...to rivive, come to life, become animated" ~ Manchu amilambi "to anoint a Buddhist icon's eyes with blood and thereby impart life to it" where (in addition to the semantic narrowing) the existence of Mongol ami(n) "life; breath" from which the Mongol word is derived, shows that the word is originally Mongol and therefore the loan direction is Mongol → Manchu.

The application of phonological, semantic, and etymological methodology allows determination of loan direction in many cases. Once a pattern emerges for certain types of loans with a specific distribution within Tungus, then other cases where evidence is lacking may be assigned to a loan period on the basis of the established pattern.[7] Each correspondence treated in the Lexicon is assigned to one of the eight categories listed below.

Recent Loans Mongol → Manchu

By far the largest category, correspondences assigned

to this group generally show representation within Tungus only by a Manchu form (e.g. aksargan, budurhûna), or by a Manchu form and one or more members of North Tungus[8] (e.g. arcan, boro), in which case the North Tungus forms are also recent borrowings but by another route.

The large number of words dealing with Buddhist teaching and ritual and which ultimately are of Sanskrit origin (cf. Bischoff 1969) fall into the category of recent loans from Mongol. Also falling into the category of recent loans are a number of Manchu forms showing morpheme change on the final syllable (e.g. belhen, julgen) which follows a pattern of suffixation encountered with native stock. Despite this suffixation there is little doubt that the words belong to the most recent period.

Beyond this, there are a number of correspondences which fall into the pattern established for recent loans from Mongol into Manchu but where no evidence exists for determining the direction of loan. These are also labelled as recent loans on the basis of the established pattern, and are always marked as such.

Early Loans Mongol → Manchu/Jurchen

This category represents an intermediate layer of borrowing between the recent loans and the layer of ancient loans (see below). The distribution pattern within Tungus and the phonology of the early loans are not as clearly defined as the recent and ancient layers of borrowing. The early period of borrowing is most often represented in Jurchen as well as in Manchu (e.g. aga, foholon) and sometimes includes representation in other Tungus languages, especially those of South Tungus (e.g. hûsiha moo, jali).

Ancient Loans Mongol → Tungus

To this period are ascribed those Mongol loans which are represented not only in Manchu but throughout Tungus,

and with a phonology which indicates their antiquity. Examples are falanggû, anda. A number of items in this category have an ultimate Turkic origin and are Turkic → Mongol → Tungus loans. The dating of this period is quite difficult, though it can be seen that a number of culture words and names for domesticated animals fall into this category.

Pre-Loan Correspondences

Into this category fall words with a phonology consistent with native Tungus stock and for which there is no evidence of loaning. Examples are gosihon, gala. Cases where a Turkic correspondence also exists, e.g. angga, can be labelled as Altaic correspondences.

Loans Manchu → Mongol (and Tungus → Mongol)

The loans from Manchu into Mongol involve specific court terms from Ch'ing times (efu, beile) and cases where the etymology clearly indicates a Manchu origin (orhoda). There are also cases of earlier loans from Tungus into Mongol (e.g. seleme, hûdašambi) which are determined on an etymon basis. But both types of loans, from Manchu into Mongol and from Tungus into Mongol, are quite rare and represent less than one percent of the correspondences. Beyond the Ch'ing court terms there is no established pattern for such loans.

Problematic Cases

These involve correspondences which cannot be ascribed to mere chance but where the phonological or semantic evidence is such that assignment to one of the categories above is impossible. Examples are dalda and baktalambi. To this category also are assigned a number of words of onomatopoetic origin, such words being generally unsuited to classification within the bounds of a standard phonology. Examples are bar ber seme and curgimbi.

Loans Mongol ← Chinese → Manchu

Into this group fall those words which exist in both Mongol and Manchu but which have their origin in separate borrowings from Chinese. Examples are cifu, polori.

Dismissable Cases

A number of correspondences proposed by scholars are unsupportable on semantic, phonological, or structural grounds and are dismissable. Any semantic or phonetic similarity is ascribable to chance rather than to genetic or loan relationship. Examples of such unfounded cases are ailimbi, cib cib seme, and bufaliyambi.

PHONOLOGY

While the phonological study of Mongol elements in Manchu deserves a separate and full-scale study, I must here necessarily confine my remarks to a few instances where a sound in Mongol is regularly represented by more than one sound in Manchu. For the most part these multiple correspondences can be explained by the known history of sound change within either Mongol or Manchu.

Mo. -b- < Ma. -b- / Ma. -f- This double correspondence has to do with a sound change in Mongol from (*-p- >) *-ɸ- > -β-, this last sound being represented in Written Mongol by -b-. The history of initial *p- in Mongol is rather well studied, but little attention is paid to this sound in non-initial position. Poppe 1955 p.98 does state that in intervocalic position Mongol *-β- (< *-p-) has become Written Mongol -b-. It would appear from Manchu reflexes that this statement holds true even in cases where the sound is not intervocalic, see for example arfa in the Lexicon. Presumably Manchu -f- reflects a borrowing from Mongol at the period when *-p- had become a spirant (still bilabial and voiceless), represented as *-ɸ-, an intermediary step before the sound change to the voiced bilabial spirant -β- which survives in the modern Mongol dialects. The change in Mongol from a voiceless to a voiced spirant must be dated before the advent of written records of Mongol, that is, before the 13th century. If Mongol medial *-p- has followed the same history of sound change as the initial *p-, then one could suppose this change of *-p- > *-ɸ- > -β- to have taken place after the 10th century but before the 13th (cf. Ligeti 1960 p.237). Some further examples of this correspondence are hefeli, hafirambi, yafahan.

Mo. č- < Ma. š- / Ma. c- The double correspondence in this case is again ascribable to sound change within Mongol. Some cases of Written Mongol č- ~ Manchu š- are

due to a change of č > š in certain Mongol dialects when the vowel immediately following is -i- (cf. Poppe 1955 p.111). Thus, Manchu šolo is an example of a borrowing from a Mongol dialect - probably one of the Buriat sub-dialects. Other cases of the correspondence Mongol č- ~ Manchu š- do not, however, have to do with an environment favoring palatalization. Such a case is exemplified by Manchu šanyan, corresponding to Mongol čaγan "white". Yet here again the explanation for the Manchu initial sound should be sought within Mongol. According to Poppe 1955 p.110 there are Mongol dialects where sporadic cases of č- > š- occur, and the likeliest explanation for the form in Manchu (and Jurchen) is as a borrowing from a Mongol dialect form which has not survived.

Mo. k-, q- < Ma. h- / Ma. k- This double correspondence is particularly vexing to scholars because the correspondence in Manchu to the Mongol plosive represented in the orthography by k- (with front vowels) and q- (with back vowels) is sometimes as Manchu k-, representing a plosive, and sometimes as Manchu h-, representing a spirant. Researchers have been unable to find environmental or structural factors which could account for this (cf. Tsintsius 1949 pp.215-216; Benzing p.28; Ligeti 1960 p.244). While the solution to this problem must be sought within Manchu-Tungus, it should be borne in mind that some modern dialects of Mcngol such as Khalkha have undergone a sound change of the voiceless velar plosive to a voiceless velar spirant, that is, *k-, *q- > x-. This is demonstrably a recent phenomenon.

The chronological classification of loan correspondences carried out in the present work has shed some light on the problem of the reflexes in Manchu of the voiceless velar plosive of Mongol. The dating of the forms in Manchu has led to a tentative conclusion that there were two very an-

cient layers of borrowing from Mongol into Tungus which interacted with a sound change within Tungus of *k- > *x- > ø-.

The very earliest level of borrowing (and one which is quite rare) is represented in the lexicon by Manchu orin "twenty". There can be no doubt that this word was borrowed into Tungus from Mongol, at which time there was an initial plosive in the Mongol form. It is likely that at this early stage a sound change of *k- > *x- took place within Tungus, thus *korin > xorin. At some later time (perhaps during the second level of borrowing?) xorin underwent, except in some conservative dialects within Tungus, a further change x- > ø- so that the form for "twenty" became, as it is now in Manchu, orin.

The second level of borrowing is represented by Manchu hoton "walled city, city wall" which is an ancient borrowing into Tungus of Mongol qoton. This word came into Tungus as *koton and under the influence of the sound change *k- > x- became xoton. It may have been at this period that the words already in Tungus with x- lost the initial consonant entirely (that is, x- > ø-) as exemplified by orin.

The third level of borrowing is still quite an old one, and is exemplified by Manchu kobkolombi. Here the Tungus languages borrowed from the Mongol qobqul- "to peel, flay", probably in a phonetic form quite close to the Written Mongol representation. By this third layer of borrowing the change *k- > x- had ceased, so the plosive remained as such in borrowings.

The fourth level of borrowing has to do with the previously-mentioned sound change in modern dialects of Mongol, where a velar spirant has come to represent an historical plosive. In these cases Manchu borrows the Mongol dialect form with the spirant, and this is represented in Manchu as such, that is, with h-. An example is

Manchu hargi, represented in Written Mongol as qargi but in Khalkha, for example, as харгы [xárgi] "rapids".

The preceding has been my attempt to clarify the correspondence of Mongol k-, q- to Manchu k- and h-, but I feel it can only serve as a starting point for a more detailed and critical study. The neat categorization above, presented for heuristic purposes, does not hold in every case, as for example with Manchu huhun "breast; milk", where the Tungus forms indicate an early sound change *k- > *h- > ø- which should have yielded a Manchu form *uhun rather than huhun. Furthermore, Mongol qara "black" is represented in Manchu by both hara and kara with the same meaning and every indication, other than phonetic, of belonging to the same level of borrowing. It is my hope that the categorization I have offered above will serve as a useful framework for more intensive study.

Mo. -rg-, -rγ- < Ma. -j- / Ma. -rg- This double correspondence is accounted for by an historic sound change within Manchu of *-rg- > -ǰ- (written as -j- in standard transliteration). This change is well documented by scholars, cf. Tsintsius 1949 p.236; Benzing p.47. At some point this sound change ceased, and later borrowings of Mongol words with -rg- and -rγ- retained the sound as Manchu -rg-. Examples of the sound change are hujuku, fajan, sejen. Examples of later borrowings with retention of the sound combination are irge and irgen.

Mo. t- < Ma. s- / Ma. t- The occasional correspondence of Manchu s- to a Mongol t- is due to an historic sound change of Manchu (and Jurchen) *t- > s- when followed by -ǰ- (written as -j-) within the word (cf. Norman 1977). That this sound change occurred after the change of *-rg- > -ǰ- (see above) is clear by an examination of such forms as suje and seje in the Lexicon.

GUIDE TO LEXICON USE

Headword

The headword is always a Manchu form, cited in accordance with Hauer's transliteration[9] and glossed according to Norman except where otherwise noted. The Jurchen form, when available, immediately follows the Manchu and is taken from Kiyose. When appropriate the Sibe form follows,[10] and is presented according to Yamamoto's transcription and definition.

Tungus Forms

The Tungus words cited are taken from Sravnitel'nij slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskikh jazykov. When the definition is identical to the definition for the Manchu form it is left unmarked, otherwise the definition is according to that offered in the Sravnitel'nij slovar'. I have adopted a romanized transliteration of the modified Cyrillic alphabet used by the editors and compilers of the Sravnitel'nij slovar'. For the most part this transliteration is quite straightforward but there are a number of cases which merit special notice:

modified Cyrillic	my transliteration
ъ	ə
ъ̇	ṛ
ɣ,ƀ	ġ
э	e
е	ẹ

Mongol Correspondences

The Written Mongol citation and definition are taken from Lessing unless otherwise marked. Middle Mongol forms, when appropriate, are taken from the Sino-Mongolian material of the Secret History and are cited after de Rachewiltz but glossed according to Haenisch. Materials from other Middle Mongol sources are specially marked.

Modern Dialects of Mongol

On occasion some of the modern Mongol dialects are cited beneath the Written Mongol form. The Khalkha is cited according to Tsevel, the Buriat after Čeremisov, while the Ordos is taken from Mostaert and the Kalmyk from Ramstedt.

Parenthetic Remarks

The parenthetic remarks at the bottom of each entry include assignment of each correspondence to one of eight categories. The scholarly literature on individual entries is cited here but such references are limited to those specifically involving the Mongol-Manchu relationship, and even then are offered haphazardly.[11] Outside the parenthetic remarks can be found, within slanted lines, reference to the earliest occurrence in the literature of each correspondence treated. The absence of a reference in this position indicates that the correspondence was not included by the editors of the Sravnitel'nij slovar'. In these cases the reference is given within the parentheses themselves. When no reference is offered, the proposed correspondence is my own.

ABBREVIATIONS

Languages:

Ev.	Even
Evenk.	Evenki
J.	Jurchen
Kalm.	Kalmyk
Ma.	Manchu
Mo.	Written Mongol (in parenthetical remarks "Mo." signifies the Mongol language in general)
MMo.	Middle Mongol
Nan.	Nanai
Neg.	Negidal
NTu.	North Tungus
Oroc.	Oroch
Orok	Orok (Ulta)
Sol.	Solon
STu.	South Tungus
Tu.	Tungus
Tü.	Turkic (specifically, pre-thirteenth century Turkic)
Ud.	Udehe
Ulc.	Ulcha

Other:

ED	Clauson's Etymological Dictionary
Golst.	Gol'stunskij
HCG	von der Gabelentz's Élémens de la grammaire mandchoue
K	Kowalewski
Kow.	" "
obsol.	obsolete
onomat.	onomatopoetic
PMH	Pelliot's "Les mots à H initiale..."
PVG	Poppe's Vergleichende Grammatik
R	Ramstedt's Studies in Korean Etymology
RASL	Ramstedt's "Ein anlautender stimmloser labial..."
S	Sanzeev's "Man'čžuro-mongol'skie jazykovie paralleli"
SSTM	Sravnitel'nij slovar' tunguso-man'čžurskikh jazykov
TMEN	Doerfer's Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen
V	Vladimirtsov's Sravnitel'naja grammatika
Zakh.	Zakharov

NOTES

1. See Poppe 1976 p.464 where he labels Manchu fujuri "origin, foundation" and fehi "brain, memory" as borrowings from Ancient Mongolian, whereas in his 1960 work (pp.56, 64) he had marked them as Altaic (=genetic) correspondences.

2. There appear to be still a number of speakers of Manchu along the northernmost border of Manchuria, in the region of Aigun, but conditions in China until now have not been amenable to linguistic research in the area. On a recent visit to the United States Mr. Jun Wang, chairman of the Linguistics Section of the Nationalities Institue of the PRC, informed me that a scholarly expedition will soon be mounted to study this group. Mr. Wang estimates the size of this Manchu-speaking group at "several dozen".

3. One phonological indication that Manchu is not a direct descendant of Jurchen is the retention of certain consonant clusters in Manchu which were lost in Jurchen, for example /kš̌/ in Manchu faksi "skilled workman" which has simplified to /š/ in faši "id.", the Jurchen reflex. For further examples see Türkische und Mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen Vol. I, p.116.

4. The material covered in this nearly inaccessible work is recapitulated by Schmidt in the introductory pages of his "Chinesische Elemente im Mandschu", Asia Major Vols. 7-8, 1932-1933; see especially pp.584-586.

5. Since correspondences offered by the Sravnitel'nij slovar' served as the basis of the Lexicon I have included even those which were ill-founded, and correct them when possible. See for example kaltara in the Lexicon.

6. I do not list derived forms unless these too are borrowings. For example, Manchu aba is listed as a borrowing from Mongol aba "chase, hunt, battue"; I do not then treat Manchu abalambi "to participate in a battue, to hunt" despite Mongol abala- "to hunt in a group or battue", as Manchu also forms verbs by the addition of the denominal verbal suffix -la- and so both the Manchu and the Mongol are likely to be separate internal developments. On the other hand Manchu deo "younger brother" and deocin "duty of a younger brother, fraternal deference" are both treated in the Lexicon, as each is a separate borrowing from Mongol.

7. Phonological, semantic, and etymological evidence take precedence over pattern distribution. Thus, for example, hûdašambi is assigned in the Lexicon to the category of Tungus loans into Mongol on the basis of etymological evidence, despite the fact that a clear pattern of loans of the type Ancient Mongol → Tungus exists.

8. On the various classifications of Tungus and their linguistic justification see Doerfer 1978. For the purposes of this study I have adopted the current Soviet system of classification which lists the following languages:

North Tungus	South Tungus
Evenki	Oroch
Solon	Udehe
Even	Ulcha
Negidal	Orok
	Nanai
	(and)
	Manchu

Manchu is generally treated as a separate branch of Tungus but is linguistically close to the South Tungus group.

9. Note that in Hauer's transliteration Manchu j = ǰ of Mongol and Tungus; Manchu y = y of Mongol but j of Tungus; Manchu c = č of Mongol and Tungus. The transliteration systems for Mongol and Manchu are so firmly established that it seemed best to put up with a dual system rather than force a unity of transliteration.

10. Due to the vast number of forms dealt with in the vocabulary, I have adopted an economy of citation: the Sibe form is presented only in cases where the form helps to solve a phonological or semantic problem concerning the Manchu word. There are occasions when I have sought the Sibe form but found it unattested, and in these cases a line takes the place of the form (see for example under baša in the Lexicon). This economy of citation is employed for Mongol dialect forms as well.

11. The literature concerned with individual lexical items in Mongol is surprisingly large, and a number of specific words have entire articles devoted to them. I have only been able to cite a small portion of that literature which is not specifically involved with the questions at hand.

LEXICON

a "interjection of response; interjection of fear"

Nan. ā "ah! oh!"

Mo. a "interj. a! oh! well!"

(The universality of such a form makes this of greater interest to the glottogonist than to the comparative linguist. Of no value as a correspondence.) /SSTM I,1/

aba "hunt, battue"

Sol. awa "hunt"

Mo. aba "chase, hunt"

(Mo. → Ma. recent, direction of loan on pattern basis Tü. → Mo. → Ma., cf. Tü (ED 3) a:v meaning both "wild game" and "hunt"; also TMEN #570.) /HCG 4/

abgari "idle, without occupation, retired official"

Evenk. abgarā "healthy, sober; health"
Sol. awgar, aggar "healthy, sober"
Ev. abgar "healthy, strong; health"

Mo. auγ-a "power, strength; powerful, mighty; gigantic"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /PVG 44/

abišaha dabišaha "distantly related, not genuinely related"

Mo. abiyas "passion, inclination"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds alone. Phonetic resemblance mere chance.) /SSTM I,6/

absa "a birchbark container"

Evenk. awsa
Ev. awsa
Neg. awfsak
Oroc. absa
Orok. xapsaw, xapsau

Mo. absa(n) "coffin, casket"

(Early Mo. → Tu.; note also Tü. (ED 587) xafsı "a small box".) /S 619/

absi "how? where to? whither? what a...! how...!"

Evenk. awaskī
Ev. awuski
Neg. awaskī
Oroc. awāsi
Ulc. xawasi
Orok. xawasai
Nan. xaosi, xausi

Mo. qamiγasi, qayisi, qaγasi, qasi "to what place"

(Certainly not a loan; if the correspondence is to be accepted it is to a pre-loan period. While the Mongol word is limited to an interrogative of direction and location, the Tu. root serves as the basic question word for Tu. as exemplified by Nan. xawoj "which", xaj "what", xado "how many".) /SSTM I,5/

abuha hûlha (Hauer) "accomplice" note Ma. hûlha "bandit, robber, thief"

Mo. ab- "a) to take, grasp, get hold of; b) to receive, obtain, gain..."

(As no verb form *abumbi is attested in Ma. this correspondence must be dismissed.) /SSTM I,6/

acilan burga, arcilan burga, arca burga, aršan burga (Hauer) "common elm"

Evenk. arča "juniper; wild rosemary"
Neg. atčimka "juniper"
Nan. arča "name of a coniferous shrub"

Mo. (Kow. 161) arča buryasu "big leaf willow"
Mo. (Kow. 163) arčilan buryasu "elm (ulmus campestris)"

(Early loan Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I,52/

acimbi "to load"

Mo. ači- "to load a vehicle or animal"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,58/

adali "like, same"

Evenk. adalī
Sol. adali

Mo. adali "the same, identical; equal; similar, resembling, analogous; similarly, identically..."

(Likely a recent loan Mo. → Ma. despite such forms as Ma. adambi "to accompany, to stand by; to be attached to, to be close to, to be next to..." and adaki "neighbor".) /HCG 6/

adistit "blessing"

Mo. adistid, adis "blessing, benediction; consecration, bestowal of miraculous power by a deity; panacea..."

(Mo. → Ma. recent, ultimately from Sanskrit adhiṣṭhāt.) /SSTM I,16/

adun "herd; swarm" Sibe 2319 aduN "herd, flock"

Evenk. abdu
Sol. adū
Ev. abdu
Neg. abdun
Orok. abdu

Mo. adaγu(n), aduγu(n) "herd of horses, horse"

Khalkha ɑʌγγ
Buriat ɑʌγγ(ʜ)

(A loan from Mo., but the phonology of the form has the paradox of suggesting either a recent (dialect) borrowing, as from Khalkha or Buriat, or else a borrowing from a considerably earlier time. The Sibe form, indicating that the second vowel has lost its length, suggests an early period of borrowing. Poppe 1960 saw the forms as Altaic (p.130), nevertheless his analysis of the Evenk. form labial consonant as a result of an earlier metathesis is probably correct, and holds of course for the Ev., Neg., and Orok. forms as well, the Sol. form being a more recent dialect borrowing.) /S 619/

aga "rain" J. aga "id."

Mo. aγar "celestial sphere, atmosphere, weather"

Ordos agāri "celestial sphere"
Buriat araaр "air, atmosphere"

(Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis (narrowing of the semantic domain in Ma. and Jurchen). By definition, the occurrence of the form in J. indicates an early loan, but lack of reflexes in any language other than Ma. and its cousin indicate that the borrowing took place on borderline between the periods I label recent and early.) /S 618/

ahûn "elder brother; older" also age, agu (Hauer) "elder brother, 'sir' in addressing one's elders..." J. ahun "elder brother"

Evenk. akā, akāj, akī "older brother; uncle"
Sol. axā "brother" (form of address) axī "older brother"
Ev. aka "elder brother; uncle" (as a form of address)
Neg. aga, axa, axī "elder brother; uncle" (address)
Oroc. aka, āki " "
Ud. ag'a " "
Ulc. aga " "
Orok. aga, aka " "
Nan. ā, aga " "

Mo. aq-a "older brother, senior"

(The correspondence is ancient and direction of loan impossible to ascertain. This falls within the preloan catergory, despite Doerfer TMEN #22.) /HCG 3/

aibimbi "to swell"

Evenk. awul-	Ud. auli-
Ev. awul-, aul-	Ulc. xauli-, xaulu-
Neg. awul-, aul-	Orok. xawlu-, xaulu-
	Nan. xaolo-

Mo. qabud- "to swell, puff"

(Correspondence hinges on accepting a lost *k- for the Tungus forms as shown by survival of x- in Ulc., Orok. and Nanai. This then would be connected with Tü. (ED 691) keber- "to swell", which occurs in a Chagatai text as kabar- "id.". The entire correspondence remains problematic.) /SSTM I,9/

aikan "cautious, careful"

Mo. ay-a "quality befitting or becoming an object or a situation; fitness, aptness, convenience; proper manner; decency, manners"

(Correspondence unfounded.) /SSTM I,20/

ailimbi "to avoid the main road, to detour"

Mo. aγuu, aγui, uu "vast, immense"

(Correspondence unfounded on both semantic and phonetic basis.) /SSTM I,13/

aiman "tribe"

Evenk. ajmak

Mo. ayimaγ "tribe, clan; aimak (largest administrative division of the Mongolian People's Republic); class, category, species, genus, world (in nature); part of speech; faculty or department of a monastery school"

(First proposed by HCG p.3; SSTM inadvertently missed the Ma. form and only listed the Evenk. form. A recent borrowing Mo. → Ma. on both semantic and phonetic grounds; the Evenk. form, as is often the case, borrowed from Mo. by another route.)

ainci "perhaps, probably, apparently, presumably"

Mo. ay-a "fitness, convenience, proper manner"

(Correspondence groundless. The Ma. form is surely connected with Ma. ainambi "to do what? how?..." and the suffix -ci in this case is a conditional marker.) /SSTM I,20/

aisi "interest, benefit, profit"

Mo. asiγ "profit, gain; benefit, advantage"

(Poppe 1960 explains the Ma. form (p.141) as metathesized aisi < *asi < *asig, which is likely to be

correct. He errs however in considering it an Altaic form. The word is present in TÜ. in pre-Mongol times, cf. ED 244 asig "profit, advantage" and so is likely to have followed the well-known pattern TÜ. → Mo. → Ma. At any rate it should be classed as a recent loan Mo. → Ma.) /PVG 141/

aisin "metal, gold" J. ančun

Neg. ajsin
Oroc. aisi(n)
Ud. aisi
Ulc. aisi(n), ajsi(n)
Orok. ajsi(n)
Nan. ajsĭ

Mo. alta(n) "gold"

(This word has a fascinating and problematic history. Poppe 1960 p.52 states that Ma. aisin < *al'sin < *al'tin < *altin, and on p.85 makes clear he believes it is an Altaic form. The word exists in TÜ. (ED 131) altu:n "gold". The Ma. and Tungus forms above surely date to an earlier period than a separate series, clearly loans, e.g. Neg. altan "copper", Oroc. akta "tin, zinc", Ulc. alta(n) "tin", Nan. alta "tin". A strict methodology does not in this case indicate a direction of borrowing, and therefore the word can be considered a pre-loan (and, since there is a Turkic form, "Altaic"). /S 616/

aitumbi "to come to, to recover"

Mo. ay-a "quality befitting or becoming a situation; fitness, aptness, convenience; proper manner; decency, manners"

(The correspondence is unfounded: it hinges on accepting a connection between the Ma. form and such Tu. forms as Evenk. aja "good, well, beautiful, healthy...", Ev. aj "id.", Neg. aja "id.", Orok. aja "good, all right, very much" and then connecting these with the Mo. form. This is unsupportable.) /SSTM I,20/

aja "mother"

Mo. eǰei, eǰetkei "term of endearment used when addressing little children or elderly women"

(Correspondence unfounded both semantically and phonetically.) /S 620/

ajaja "interjection of surprise"

Mo. aǰa "good luck, success"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I,16/

ajirgan, ajirhan "a male horse, donkey, camel or dog"
J. aǰir morin "stallion"

Evenk. aǰirga
Sol. addiga, adirga
Nan. aǰirga, (dialectal) agirka

Mo. aǰirγ-a(n) "stallion"

(As the Jurchen form is older than the Ma. form it may be that the Ma. is a borrowing from the recent period, the Jurchen from the early period of Mongol loans. Poppe 1960 pp.4-5 argues for an Altaic correspondence, but see Doerfer TMEN #648.) /HCG 4/

ajirka "didn't recognize, confused (an acquaintance)"

Mo. aǰiγ "attention, regard, notice"

(Correspondence unfounded on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /S 620/

aka niyehe "loon, dabchick" note Ma. niyehe "duck"

Neg. axanī
Ulc. an'i
Nan. ānī

Mo. aquuna "loon (bird)"

(Correspondence problematic. The Mo. form has no clear etymology within Mongol itself, while the Tu. forms may be an onomat. word melded to the word for duck. Thus if borrowed, it would be a rare case of Tu. → Mo. but the phonetic problems are too great to accept this unequivocally.) /SSTM I,24/

aksargan "a belt on which a quiver is fixed"

Mo. aγsaγ-a "belt (attached to quiver and bow)"
note also Mo. (Boberg p.30) aγsarγ-a "id."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,25/

akšun "slanderous"

Evenk. aksan "offence, quarrel"
Ev. āsan "angry; anger, offence"
Ulc. aksa(n) "offence"

Mo. aγsum, aγsun "fury, rage, madness, furious, fiery, violent, tempestuous; spirited"

Khalkha arcam , arcaH

(The presence throughout Tu. of such verb forms as Evenk. aksa- "to take offence, to be angry", Ev. ās- "id.", Orok. aksa- "id." indicates that this is a Tu. word. The Ma. form, however, is not a regular development in Tungus (cf. Tsintsius 1949 p.195). A further complication is the Tü. (ED 95) axsum "drunk" and more specifically "fighting drunk". For the moment this must be considered a native Tu. word, the Mongol and Turkic correspondences remaining problematic. Cf. also TMEN #510.) /SSTM I,25/

akta "gelding" J. akda morin "id."

Evenk. aktakī
Sol. akta
Ev. ata
Neg. aktawčā
Orok. xakta
Nan. akta

Mo. aγta "gelding; gelded, castrated"

(The presence of verb forms such as Evenk. akta- "to geld", Ev. āt- "id.", Nan. xaxta- "id.", unless back-formations, indicates a Tungus word. The Mongol verb is derived from the noun form: aγtala- "to geld". Despite such evidence the bulk of animal husbandry terms appear to come from Mo. from an ancient period and so provisionally I would indicate ancient Mo. → Tu.) /HCG 4/

alban "public service; official, public, fiscal; tax, duty, tribute"

Ud. agba
Ulc. alba(n)
Nan. albā

Mo. alba(n) "compulsion, corvee, coercion; tax"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 619/

alcu "the concave side of a gacuha" note Ma. gacuha "toy or die made from an anklebone"

Neg. alčuxān
Oroc. akčuka
Ulc. alčua(n)
Nan. alčoã

Mo. alču, alčungγai "depression on the side of an anklebone"

(Mo. → Ma. at an early period, likely at the same time it entered South Tungus generally. The other forms apart from Ma., however, show the addition of the Tu. diminutive suffix *-kan.) /PVG 86/

aldungga "strange, queer, uncommon, uncanny, ghostly"

Mo. aldar "fame, renown"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I,31/

alha "many colored, variegated, mottled; satin in which the woof and the warp are of different colors; a horse of more than one color" (Hauer also lists aga as an obsol. form)

Evenk. ala, alag
Sol. alāg
Ev. ala
Neg. alxa
Ulc. alxa
Orok. alaxa
Nan. alxa

Mo. alaγ "multicolored, parti-colored, spotted, variegated, motley; heterogeneous, of many kinds"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu., cf. TMEN #518. Note the metathesis shown by the Ma. form which has the effect of avoiding the final-consonant prohibition. bithe (infra) shows the same development. Note also the compound alha bulha "many colored, splendid" ← Mo. alaγ bulaγ "parti-colored, motley". Turkic may be the ultimate donor of these forms, ED 126 lists a:la: "parti-coloured, dappled, mottled, spotted, blotchy" as well as the jingle ala bula.) /S 619/

alhûwa "membrane (particularly the membrane on the heart or liver), the cornea of the eye, bamboo membrane"

Evenk. alta "membrane"
Neg. alta "flesh side of a hide, film"
Oroc. alukta "flesh side of a hide, film"
Ud. alukta " "
Orok. xalukta " "

Mo. qalim "the fat and flesh adhering to the hide of an animal just skinned; a whole sheep skinned carefully in order to leave these tissues on the body of the animal..."

Khalkha халим
Ordos xalim
Kalm. хәl'ң

(Problematic in that this would qualify as a pre-loan correspondence, the direction of loan not ascertainable on a semantic or phonetic basis (the Tungus forms suggest an original *kalu/*xalu). But on the pattern of orin "twenty" (infra) which is demonstrably a loan-word, however early, from Mo. → Tu., it is likely that this too is an ancient Mo. → Tu. loan.) /SSTM I,34/

alikû "a tray, the tray used for weighing on a scale, the lower millstone" J. aliku "platter"

Mo. algui (sic!)

(SSTM Vol. I, p.27 cites this Mo. ghost word as a correspondence to the Manchu. Possibly taken in haste from p.6 of Ramstedt's SKE where a number of similar forms are cited in a different context.)

alimbi "to receive, to accept"

Evenk. al-	Oroc. ali-
Sol. ali-	Ud. ali-
Ev. al-	Orok. ali-
Neg. al-	Nan. ali-

Mo. ali "(imperative) give! give me!"

(While the connection with Tü. (ED 124) al- "to take" is patent, the Tu. and Tü. connection with the Mo. is entirely problematic, insofar as the Mo. form is both an isolated form within the language, and in fact has the opposite sense of the Tu. and Tü. forms. No deci-

sion on direction of loan can be made in such circumstances - if indeed there was a loan.) /R 14/

alisun "grain that has sprouted from lost or abandoned seeds"

Mo. (Golst. 33) aliusu "sprouts from seed remaining after harvest"

(SSTM I,32 wrongly connected the Ma. form with Mo. alirsu(n) "red bilberry" which is semantically unfounded. The above is likely to be recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

alkûn "the gait of a horse or other livestock" note also Sibe (Yam. 1224) 'alɔqɔmɔ "to take a step, to walk"

Mo. alqum "step, pace, gait" note also Mo. alqu- "to step, walk; to step or walk over; to elapse; to disturb"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the Sibe form appears to be a back-formation.) /SSTM I,33/

altahatu (Hauer) "gold- and coal-bearing"

Evenk. altan "gold"
Sol. altã "gold"

Mo. alta(n) "gold"

(Hauer p.39 explains the Ma. form as a compound of Mo. alta "gold" and yahatu "coal-bearing". Recent Mo. → Ma.; cf. aisin (supra).) /SSTM I,33/

amargi "back, behind; north" J. amurgai "back"

Evenk. amar	Oroc. amukĪ "rear; after"
Sol. aŋar	Ud. amaж "rear"
Ev. amɒrda "rear portion"	Ulc. xamuru "rear, last"
Neg. amajwu "rear, final"	Orok. xamaru " "
	Nan. xamia "back"

Mo. umar-a "north"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds: the original sense in the Tu. is of the rear portion of something, the meaning of back as a direction is secondary.) /S 619/

amba "big, great, vast, important" note also Ma. amban "high official, dignitary; big, great, vast, important" J. amban "big"

Neg. amban "evil spirit"
Oroc. amba " "
Ud. amba "evil spirit; tiger; very, much"
Ulc. amba(n) "evil spirit; tiger; big; extremely"
Orok. amba(n) "evil spirit"
Nan. ambã "evil spirit; tiger; big"

Mo. amban "big, large; minister, governor, dignitary"

(This is one of the few Ma. → Mo. loans and probably dates from the most recent period. It is generally ascribed to the period of Manchu domination since the word occurs mostly as a general term for high-ranking representatives of the Ch'ing court. But the presence in Mo. of such forms as amban šar "a big ox" shows that the sense of the borrowing fully copied the semantic range of the Manchu form and so may date from an earlier period.) /S 620/

amhambi "to sleep" (Hauer lists amgambi as obsol. form)

Evenk. ā-
Sol. āŋa-
Ev. āŋŋɒ- "to spend the night"
Neg. ā-
an'ŋa- "to spend the night"
Oroc. ā-
āŋa- "to spend the night"
Ud. ana-
Ulc. aw-, au-
Nan. ao-

Mo. amu- "to rest, relax, to feel contentment or joy; to be relieved"

(Pre-loan correspondence, though the semantics make the connection between Mo. and Tu. forms questionable.) /SSTM I,2/

amilambi "to anoint a Buddhist icon's eyes with blood and thereby impart life to it..."

Mo. amila- "to give life, enliven, let live, spare a life; to animate an image..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic grounds, also on etymon grounds, cf. Mo. ami(n) "life, breath, power of respiration".) /SSTM I,37/

amsu "food presented to the emperor" also Ma. amsun "wine and food offerings to a deity"

Mo. amusu(n) "cooked cereal, porridge; food offering made to spirits"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,39/

amtan "taste, smell; interest"

Evenk. amta	Oroc. amta
Sol. antās'i "tasty"	Ud. amta
Ev. amtɒn	Ulc. amta
Neg. amtan	Orok. apta
	Nan. amta

Mo. amta(n) "taste, flavor; liking, interest"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /HCG 5/

amu "the pancreas of a pig"

Ev. āmi "(anat.) diaphragm"

Mo. umadaγ "scrotum with testicles; lower part of the belly"

(Dismissable on both semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I,37/

an "usual, ordinary, common"

Mo. ang: ang ǰang "customs, habits"

(The Mo. form occurs only as above, that is, as a bound form, while the Ma. has many occurrences, e.g. an akû "irregular, unusual", an kooli "custom, usage", an i gu "ordinary jade". Thus the direction of loan remains problematic.) /S 618/

anda "sworn brother, bosom friend, friend from childhood"

Evenk. anda
Neg. anda
Oroc. anda
Ud. anda
Ulc. anda
Orok. anda
Nan. anda

Mo. anda "sworn brother, friend"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu., this word has an etymology in Tü. (ED 176) and/ant "an oath" and is one of the ancient loanwords on the pattern Tü. → Mo. → Tu.; cf. TMEN #33.) /S 618/

andan "an instant, a moment" J. andando "enroute"

Evenk. alda (obsol.) "fathom"
Oroc. agda(n) "interval; (postpos.) between"
Ud. agda(n) " "
Ulc. alda(n) " "
Orok. alda(n) " "
Nan. aldā "interval; (postpos.) between; hermaphrodite"

Mo. alda "fathom (originally the distance between the tips of the middle fingers of a man's outstretched arms), measure of length containing five toqui, equal to 1.6 meters"

(Pre-loan correspondence, since direction of loan cannot be ascertained. The form is strong both in Mo. and in Tu.) /S 618/

angga "mouth, opening, hole, pass, gate" J. amga "mouth"

Evenk. amŋa
Sol. amma
Ev. amnɒ
Neg. amŋa
Ud. aŋma
Ulc. aŋma
Orok. amŋa, aŋma
Nan. amga
(all of the above with the meaning "mouth, opening")

Mo. ama(n) "mouth; the mouth as the organ of speech or voice, hence, speech, utterance...an opening resembling or likened to a mouth; the opening of a cup, muzzle or bore of a rifle ...mountain pass, opening of a gulch or ravine..."

(A truly Altaic correspondence, if Tü. (ED 155) am "vulva, pudenda muliebra" is accepted as a correspondence as well.) /S 618/

anja "plow"

Sol. anǰasũ
Ulc. anǰa
Nan. anǰa

Mo. anǰisu(n), anǰusu(n) "plow"

(Early Mo. → STu. on pattern basis.) /S 618/

arašan "propitious, refreshing"

Mo. rasiyan, arasiyan "mineral spring; holy water"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., ultimately from Sanskrit rasâyana.) /S 621/

arcan "cream, milk thickened with wine and sugar"

Evenk. ārčā
Sol. arči

Mo. aγarča(n) "a kind of sour cottage cheese made from milk left after distillation of milk liquor"

Khalkha аарц
Buriat аарса(н)
Ordos ārtš'a

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the NTu. forms are borrowed from Mo. by another route.) /SSTM I,53/

arda "untried, new, a greenhorn"

Mo. ardaγ "inexperienced; untrained (of horses); pampered (of children)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the Ma. form ardashûn "delicate, fragile" is a later development within Ma.) /S 621/

arfa "barley, grain"

Mo. arbai "barley"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /PVG 87/

argali "female of Darwin's sheep"

Mo. arγali "Argali, mountain sheep (female)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 621/

arga "plan, method, plot"

Evenk. arga	Ulc. arga(n)
Sol. arga	Orok. arga(n)
Oroc. agga	Nan. argã
Ud. aga	

Mo. arγ-a "means, method, way out, possibility; ruse, trick, artifice, scheming..."

(Certainly the presence of forms within STu. and NTu. indicates an ancient loan or correspondence, but in Ma. *-rg- should give -ǰ- (see page 12 for discussion). Unless the expected Ma. form has disappeared and been replaced by a recent borrowing, the entire complex is inexplicable.) /HCG 5/

argan "sprout; crescent; fang; tooth of a saw"

Mo. araγ-a, ariy-a "molar; tooth of a cogwheel; two diacritic dots placed to the right of the Mongolian letter "s" to make it "š""

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /PVG 81/

arjan "liquor made from milk, kumiss" (Hauer gives arcan as obsol. form)

Mo. araǰa "strong milk brandy which has been distilled twice"

Khalkha arʒ
Buriat arʒa

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I,50/

arkan "scarcely, barely, just, just right"

Evenk. araj
Ev. arpn

Mo. arai "just a little too...; not quite...; hardly, scarcely, barely, with difficulty"

(Clearly a borrowing from Mo. but perhaps with some internal sound change; the Mo. dialect forms with diminutive are Khalkha арайхан, Buriat арайхан, hardly candidates for the loan source. Though a recent Mo. → Ma. loan, remains problematic in the finer details.) /SSTM I,48/

arki "distilled liquor, strong liquor"

Evenk. arakī	Oroc. araki
Sol. araxi, arxi	Ud. 'ai
Ev. arigi	Ulc. araki
Neg. ajaxi	Orok. araki
	Nan. araki

Mo. araki(n), ariki(n) "alcoholic liquor made of airaγ through distillation; any alcoholic beverage; brandy, wine, etc."

(Ancient Mo. → Tu., this word appears to be a Wanderwort which accompanied the spread of distilled liquor across Asia at an early period.) /S 621/

arsalan "lion"

Sol. arsalã, arčalã

Mo. arslan, arsalan "lion"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 4/

asarambi "to put away for safekeeping, to store"

Mo. asara- "to be compassionate; to take care, raise, foster, nourish, or support by charity; to be a benefactor or philanthropist; to love"

(Seems to be recent Mo. → Ma. but with semantic alteration; cf. asari.)

asari "tower, throne room, archive"

Mo. asar "a large tent, marquee; tower, steeple, belfry, bastion, pavilion"

(Problematic, the Ma. form seems to be a borrowing from Mo. on phonetic grounds but on the basis of etymon seems to be a development from asarambi (supra) and so an internal development.) /SSTM I,54/

ayara "sour milk, buttermilk"

Mo. ayiraγ "kumiss, fermented milk of mares or cows"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonetic grounds.) /S 618/

ba "place; local; li -- a Chinese mile; circumstances, situation, reason, condition, manner"

Mo. buyida, boyida "secluded, out of the way, remote; devious"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I,101/

babun "handle on a bucket or basket; crupper"

Mo. bariγul "handle, haft, hilt, grip; stem or stalk of a plant; brake"

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I,75/

bacihi "married while still a child"

Mo. balčir "infant, baby, suckling, newborn young; inexperienced"

(SSTM also lists Evenk. ba- "to marry" which may remotely have connection with the Ma. form but certainly not to the Mo.; correspondence is dismissable on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I,60/

badar, badiri "a monk's alms bowl"

Sol. badarčĩ "mendicant monk"

Mo. badar, badir, badr-a "bowl carried by mendicants to collect alms; offering plate; donation, alms; contribution to charity, collection for charity"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., ultimately from Sanskrit pātra.) /SSTM I,63/

badun "a weight measure -- ten pecks, a bushel"

Mo. badun "a measure equal to 10 Chinese tou 斗 or to 3,160 cubic inches (obsol.)"

(Of Chinese origin, direction of loan is uncertain, may be a case of Ma. ← Chinese → Mo.; Hauer is probably correct in stating the Chinese form as pa-tou 笆 斗 ; Schmidt (Chinesische Elemente p.602) certainly is in error in listing the form as pa-t'un 笆 囤 .) /K 1071/

baicambi "to inspect, to examine, to investigate, to survey"
note also Ma. baimbi "to seek, to look for, to wish, to ask for" Sibe 1855 ba'icəmə "to search out"

Sol. baisa- "to investigate"
Neg. bajtaldu- "to judge"
Oroc. baitači- " "
Ud. baitala- "to judge; to punish"
Orok. bai- "to investigate"
" " baitala- "to judge"
Nan. bajtala- "to judge, indict; to examine"
" " bajči- "to examine"

Mo. bayičaγa- "to investigate, inspect, inquire into, check, examine"

MMo. ———
Khalkha байцаах
Buriat байсаахa

(Problematic; the question here is whether the Tu. forms in Ma. (baimbi) and Orok. (bai-) are loans from a reconstructed Mo. form *bayi- or are reflexes of a native Tu. form. The Mo. can be analyzed as *bayi- plus the suffix -čaγa- which Poppe 1974 p.63 says carries the function "to express action performed by many actors".) /SSTM I,65/

baise "Chinese cabbage"

Mo. bayičai, bayiča "cabbage"

(A case of Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; the Chinese donor form is pai-ts'ai 白 菜 .) /S 686/

baising "settlement, village"

Mo. bayising "building, structure, house"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

baita "matter, affair, business, event"

Sol. baita "business; business letter"
Neg. bajta "fault"
Oroc. baita "guilt; judicial affair"
Ud. baita "business, affair; guilt; judgement"
Ulc. bajta "affair, matter; judicial matter"
Orok. bajta " "
Nan. bajta "affair, matter; guilt; judicial matter; interest, question; necessity"

Mo. bayiča "state of being, staying, existing; circumstances, conditions; adverb (gram.)"
also Mo. bayidal "state of being or existing; conditions, circumstances; situation; state"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on the basis of etymology, the likeliest being from Mo. bayi- "to be" (hence Mo. bayiča and bayidal listed above). Tungus offers no likely etymology. If Mo. bayiča is taken as the donor form, this means an ancient *baɣt'a should be reconstructed for the Ancient Mo.; the most noteworthy aspect of the Tu. forms is the semantic parallel to Mo. kereg "thing, matter, affair in general; incident, trouble; legal case...need, necessity". In this regard note the similarity of meaning to the Nan. form (above) in particular.)

baji "a little bit (more), a while"

Neg. baǰi

Mo. bayiǰa, bayiǰi "wait! stop! just a moment!"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I,66/

baksi "a scholar, a learned man, a gentleman"

Mo. baγsi "teacher, instructor, professor, learned lama; master; mister"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the ultimate origin undoubtably Chinese. TÜ. (ED 321) bağşi "religious teacher" is likely the intermediary between the Mo. and the Chinese, but there is some confusion in the scholarly literature concerning the Chinese donor form. It appears most likely to be that represented by present-day Chinese po-shih 博士 , despite the suggestion of ED 321. In Classical Chinese this carried the meaning of "doctor" e.g. of philosophy, literature, law, etc. (cf. Mathews #5776.15). The change of meaning to "religious teacher" may be natural enough, but the entire matter is complicated by yet another reflex of this word with a slightly different meaning and phonetic shape (cf. faksi listed separately.) /HCG 3/

baktambi "to contain, to encompass"

Evenk. bat-, bati-
Sol. bakta-, batta-
Neg. bat-, bati-

Mo. baγta- "to fit in (of size or shape); to have enough room for, be able to accomodate or hold; to be incorporated in, belong to; to be compatible with"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the NTu. forms entered by another route, the Evenk. and Neg. possibly through a Yakut intermediary.) /S 686/

balai "blindly, vainly, carelessly, indiscriminately, falsely, unreasonably"

Nan. balakini "haphazardly"

Mo. balai "dark, obscure, ignorant; intellectually or morally blind; stupid"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis and also for semantic reasons; cf. balu listed separately.) /S 686/

balama "mad, crazy"

Evenk. balamat

Mo. balamad, balamud "savage, wild, barbarous, beastly, petulant, reckless, venturous, daring; crazy"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I,68/

balu "blind"

Evenk. bali	Ud. bali
Ev. bali	Ulc. bāli
Neg. bali	Orok. bali
Oroc. bāli	Nan. bali

Mo. balar "dark; obscure; blind; unclear; ignorant; primitive, primeval; thick, dense, impenetrable"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 686/

bandan "bench, chair"

Sol. banda
Ulc. banda(n)
Nan. banda

Mo. bandang "bench, plank bed"

(Direction of borrowing unclear, may be from separate paths Chinese → Mo. and Chinese → Ma.; cf. Chinese pan-teng 板凳 .) /K 1053/

bandi "learned man, pundit" (Zakh. 468 has bandida "id.")

Mo. bandida "savant, scholar, teacher, pundit"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., ultimately from Sanskrit pandita.) /SSTM I,71/

bandi (Zakh. 468) "student, disciple..."

Mo. bandi "novice in Buddhist orders; disciple or famulus of a lama"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit vandya.) /SSTM I,71/

bar ber seme "many people talking together"

Mo. barkira- "to shout, cry, yell"

(Problematic, the terms are onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I,75/

baramit "paramita -- the means leading to nirvana"

Mo. baramid "virtue, perfection, religious merits"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit pāramitā.) /SSTM I,73/

bardanggi "braggart"

Mo. bardam, bardang "pride, boastfulness, arrogance, presumption, haughtiness; braggart, boaster; proud, boasting, bragging"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; cf. Mo. barda- "to boast, brag..." which provides a solid etymology. Sibe 1963 barədəmə "to boast" is likely to be a later back-formation.) /HCG 6/

bargiyambi "to store, to preserve, to protect; to take in, to receive, to harvest, to gather, to collect..."

Neg. bargi- Orok. bargi-, bargu-
Oroc. baggi- Nan. bargi-
Ulc. bargi-, bargu-
(all the above carry both meaning of "to prepare" and "to gather")

Mo. bari- "to hold, grasp, grip, take; to seize, catch, arrest..."

(Dismissable on phonetic basis; semantics likewise tenuous.)

bargiyashûn "narrowing toward the mouth"

Mo. bariγu "holding fast or tight, unyielding; tight, narrow (as clothes, footgear); stingy, miserly, venal"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I,73/

barkiyambi "to understand, to grasp, to perceive, to notice"

Mo. baruγla- "to finish almost completely; to estimate, make a guess, surmise, suppose; to have an idea; to come near to, approximate"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds; the Mo. is a regular development from Mo. <u>baruγ</u> "almost, nearly...".) /SSTM I,73)

baru "(postposition) toward"

Evenk. baron "right, west"
Sol. baran'da "west"
Oroc. bai-ti (postpositional with poss. suffix) "in the direction of"
Ulc. bā-, bē- " "
Orok. bāru- " "
Nan. bāro- " "

Mo. baraγun "right-hand side; west; right, western; rightist (political)"

(Correspondence dismissable on semantic grounds. The Evenk. and Sol. forms are borrowings from Mo. and unrelated to the STu. forms. Poppe 1960 p.21 sees an Altaic connection but even if the semantic problem is overcome the fact remains that the form is only represented in STu.) /R 191/

basumbi "to make fun of, to deride, to mock"

Mo. basu- "to contemn; to hold in low esteem, treat lightly; to disregard, ignore, underestimate"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,76/

baša "wife's younger sister" Sibe ———

Mo. bačaγan "daughter, girl"

Khalkha ———
Buriat басага(н)

(Dismissable on semantic grounds; the Ma. forms a pair with Ma. <u>ašša</u> "elder brother's wife".) /SSTM I,78/

batkalambi "to deceive, to cheat, to swindle"

Mo. bačila- "to deceive, use a ruse, act craftily; to sham, malinger; to harm"

(Problematic; the semantic fit is perfect , and I would label this a recent loan Mo. → Ma. but for the phonetic problem of Ma. -tk- ~ Mo. -č-. May be a recent loan with an internal morpheme change in Ma. due to contamination or for some unknown reason.) /SSTM I,77/

batmaga "ruby"

Mo. badmaraγa "ruby"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit padma-rāga.) /SSTM I,77/

batman (Hauer) "lotus-flower ornament"

Mo. badm-a "lotus, water lily"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit padma.) /SSTM I,77/

baturu "brave; hero" (Zakh. 476 also lists batoru)

Evenk. bagadi
Sol. bātar
Ev. bagtir, batur
Oroc. bātu, baturi
Ulc. bātur, baturi
Nan. bātor

Sibe 2474 baturə, batərə "brave"

Mo. baγatur "hero; knight; heroic, courageous, valiant, brave"

(Early Mo. → Ma.; the phonology of the Tu. forms shows that this is a loanword which did not undergo the sound changes of the native stock and so can be dated to this period, cf. Tsintsius 1949 p.245.) /HCG 6/

bayan "rich, rich man" J. bayan "wealthy"

Evenk. bajan
Neg. bajan
Oroc. baja(n)
Ud. baja(n)
Ulc. baja(n)
Orok. baja(n)
Nan. bajă

Mo. bayan "richness, prosperity, abundance; rich, wealthy; well-to-do"

(Early Mo. → Ma.; the phonology of the Tu. makes clear this is a loan, while distribution indicates the period.) /S 686/

be "we (exclusive)

Evenk. bu	Ud. bu
Sol. bū	Ulc. bū, bue
Ev. bu	Orok. bu
Neg. bu	Nan. bue
Oroc. bu	

Mo. ba "pron. of the 1st p. plur. we (excluding the persons addressed, obs.)"

(The correspondence of the 1st person plural, and the further similarity of the oblique forms (man-, men-, min-, mun-) in Mongol and Tungus is noteworthy. Schütz suggests a glottogonic explanation for the similarity. While I am not certain how much weight to give this correspondence, it belongs in the pre-loan category. On the pronouns see also bi and si listed separately.) /SSTM I,98/

babu "sounds used to lull a baby to sleep, lullaby"

Neg. bā-bā
Orok. bē-bē
Nan. bē-bē

Mo. bübei "lullaby, rockaby"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I,118/

bederi "stripes or spots on animals or birds"

Mo. beder, bider "stripes, specks, spots, mark on the skin of animals; ornament, pattern engraved on metal, stone, or wood"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic and phonological grounds.) /SSTM I,120/

bedun "sturdy, solidly made"

Evenk. budung "large, strapping"

Mo. büdügün, bidügün "large, huge, big; crude, clumsy, plain, simple; ignorant, rough; deep (of voice)"

Khalkha бүдүүн Ordos бөдөн
Buriat бүдүүн(н) Kalm. бүдүн

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the donor form is certainly from a modern dialect but perhaps the dissimilation of the vowel of the first syllable took place within Ma.) /S 687/

behe "ink, inkstick" J. behe "ink"

Sol. bokę́ Ulc. bexe
Neg. bexe Orok. bexe
Ud. bexe

Mo. beke "ink"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; a loanword from Chinese also found in Tü. (ED 766) mekke "black ink" but it is not clear if the pattern is Chinese → Tü. → Mo. → Tu. or separately Chinese → Mo. → Tu.; cf. Schmidt, Chinesische Elemente p.604.) /HCG 5/

beidembi "to examine (a case), to try (a case), to judge"

Mo. bedere-, bederi- "to seek, search, look for"

(Correspondence dismissable on combined evidence of semantic, phonetic and pattern considerations.) /SSTM I,120/

beiduri "sapphire"

Mo. viidüriy-e, biidüriy-e "lapis lazuli"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit vaidûriya. Note also biduri listed separately.) /SSTM I,120/

beile "beile, ruler, prince of the third rank"

Mo. beyile "prince of the third rank"

(One of the rare Ma. → Mo. loans; there is a possibility that this is ultimately a re-borrowing of an earlier Mo. loan, cf. Kotwicz 1950 pp.355-368.) /S 687/

beise "beise, prince, a prince of the fourth rank"

Mo. beyise "prince of the fourth rank"

(Like beile this is a rare case of Ma. → Mo. and again the form may ultimately be a re-borrowing.) /SSTM I,20/

beki "firm, strong"

Evenk. beki
Neg. bexī

Mo. beki "strong, firm, solid; robust, vigorous, durable"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1124/

belek (Zakh. 491) "gift, present"

Evenk. belek
Sol. belī, beleg
Ev. belek

Mo. beleg "gift, present"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the phonetic form indicates this is a Mongolism within Manchu rather than a true Ma. word.) /S 687/

beleni "ready-made, already prepared, finished"

Evenk. belen
Ev. belem, belen
Ulc. belī
Nan. belī

Mo. belen "prepared, ready, in readiness, available"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /S 687/

belhen "preparation"

Sol. belxe "ready"
Neg. belixī "ready"

Mo. beleken "ready, prepared; in readiness, handy, at hand"

(The correspondence appears to be phonetically excellent

at first glance; however, Ma. belhen is an internal development within Ma. and not a borrowing of Mo. beleken. It is, nevertheless, a recent Mo. → Ma. loan from Mo. belen, with the morpheme change in Ma. after the borrowing. Cf. my prefatory remarks to A Reverse Index of Manchu.)

berhu "a term of address used by a wife to her husband's younger sister, or by an elder sister to her younger brother's wife" (Hauers lists bergu as obsol. form)

Evenk. berigej

Mo. bergen "wife of an elder brother; polite expression used in addressing the wife of a person of about the same age"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the morpheme change in Ma. came after the borrowing.) /SSTM I,126/

beserei "a mongrel mixture of a taiha hunting dog and the common house dog" (Hauer lists beseri as obsol. form)

Mo. besereg "mongrel, half-breed, crossbreed, hybrid; bastard..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic and pattern basis.) /SSTM I,127/

beye "body, self" J. beye "body"

Evenk. beje "person; male; body; generation"
Sol. bie, beje "person; self"
Ev. bej "person, individual; male; body; self"
Neg. beje "person; male; body; self"
Oroc. beje "body; self"
Ud. beje "body; self; real"
Ulc. baje(n) "body; self"
Orok. beje "body"
Nan. beje "body; self; individual"

Mo. beye(n) "a) body, physique, organism; health b) person, individual, (one)self..."

(Ancient loan Mo. → Tu. on phonological grounds; the evidence is not entirely clear but I am inclined to believe that native Tu. *eje would have yielded a

long vowel in modern Tu. languages just as Tsintsius 1949 p.110 surmises. However, Tsintius on p.213 of the same work lists beje as the expected outcome for Tu. *beje and it is not clear whether she is discarding her earlier surmise or if it somehow does not apply in this case. It is my belief that the phonetic form of the modern NTu. languages indicates that this word is an ancient borrowing rather than native stock.) /HCG 4/

beyembi "to freeze, to be cold" J. bei "chilly"

Evenk. begī-
Ev. bei-, beji-
Neg. bejī-
Ulc. bei-, beji-
Nan. bei-, beji-

Mo. begere- "to suffer extremely from frost, freeze, become stiff or numb from cold"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. but problematic due to the possible onomat. origin.) /PVG 60/

bi "I, me"

Evenk. bi	Ud. bi
Sol. bi	Ulc. bi
Ev. bi	Orok. bi
Neg. bi	Nan. mi
Oroc. bi	

Mo. bi "pron. of 1st pers. sing.: I"

(Pre-loan correspondence and, with Tü. (ED 346) ben "I" included, an Altaic correspondence. The oblique form in Tu., e.g. Ma. mini "my, of me" and the Mo. oblique form exemplified by Mo. mini "my, mine" is a further similarity of this form - though this similarity may be a structural one rather than essentially a sound correspondence. In this regard note that such Indo-European stock as Germanic and Slavic show the same formation for the genitive of the 1st person. While the similarities of the pronouns in Mo. and Tu. (and other languages) are quite remarkable, Schütz suggests that these similarities are glottogonic in origin, somewhat analogous to the similarities shown universally in terms of relation such as "mama" and "papa".) /HCG 6/

biduri "lapis lazuli"

Mo. viidüriy-e, biidüriy-e "lapis lazuli"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., ultimately from Sanskrit, cf. beiduri listed separately.) /SSTM I,120/

bikcu "Buddhist monk"

Mo. (Kow. 1151) bikču, bikšu "mendicant"

(Recent Mo. → Ma; ultimately from Sanskrit bhikṣu.) /SSTM I,81/

bilgešembi "to brim, to be too full of a liquid"
also biltembi "to overflow"
also bisambi "to overflow, to flood"

Mo. bilqa- "to overflow, pour over the edge or brim; to be too full"

(Problematic; on a pattern basis should be recent Mo. → Ma. but the donor form is unclear. Apparently the correspondence is a good deal older and direction of loan therefore uncertain.) /SSTM I,81/

bilumbi "to stroke, to rub, to nourish, to caress, to fondle"

Mo. ilbi- "to smooth with the hand, stroke, caress; to appease"
MMo. bili(ju) "to stroke, caress"

(Ligeti 1960 p.237 sees the Mo. form as a metathesized version of the MMo. word. Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 687/

bimbi "to exist, to be; to stay, to remain" J. bi- "to be"

Evenk. bi- Ud. bi-
Sol. bi- Ulc. bi-
Ev. bi- Orok. bi-
Neg. bī- Nan. bi-
Oroc. bī-

Mo. bü- "to be (a defective verb)..."
note also Mo. bui "being, existing"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 112/

bingse "steelyard"

Mo. bingse, pingse "balance, scales"

(This is one of a number of words which appear to have a Chinese origin but where the donor form is uncertain. Hauer p.95 states that the Ma. form is from Mo. and ultimately from Chinese p'ing-tzu 平子 . But such a Chinese form is unattested. For this reason the correspondence is problematic. Note also pingse listed separately.) /SSTM I,84/

bintu (Zakh. 495) "zero"

Mo. bindü, bintü "small circle used as a diacritic in Sanskrit and Manchu writings; zero"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately of Sanskrit origin.) /SSTM I,83/

binwat (Zakh. 495) "the giving of food to priests in Buddhism"

Mo. binvad "alms, almsgiving"

(Recent Mo. → Ma; ultimately of Sanskrit origin.) /SSTM I,83/

birit (Zakh. 506) "monster"

Mo. birid "starveling ghost, demon of hunger"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit preta.) /SSTM I,85/

bisi "crab louse, tick"

Mo. bisa, bis "bedbug"

Khalkha бясаа

(This is another problematic form; Lessing states that the Mongol is from Chinese pi-shih 蓖蝨 "ticks" but the Mongol, especially the Khalkha form, makes this

unlikely. Possibly there is some contamination in Mongol with Mo. bögesü(n) "louse". The Ma. may well be directly from the Chinese form, since in the case of Ma. the meaning and phonetics match the Chinese well.) /SSTM I,85/

bithe "book; letter" J. bitehe "book"

Evenk. bit'ik, bičik
Sol. bitig, biteg
Neg. bitexe
Oroc. bitige, bitxe
Ulc. bitxe
Orok. bičixe
Nan. bičxe

Mo. bičig "a) anything written (as letters of the alphabet or characters); system of writing, script; inscription; written communication, letter, missive, memorandum; document, certificate b) written or printed book..."

(Ancient Mo. → Tu., this is a well-documented case on the pattern Tü. → Mo. → Tu., cf. TMEN #717.) /HCG 4/

bitumbi "to edge, to border, to go along the border, to adorn, to decorate" note also Ma. (Hauer) birai bitume "along the river"

Mo. bitü- "to roam, wander as a religious mendicant; to stroll, loiter; to go astray; to err"
MMo. bitü(jü) "to go along the bank"

(Proposed by Ligeti 1960 p.236. Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

biwanggirit "exposition, explanation, grammar"

Mo. vivanggirid, bivanggirid "prophecy, prediction"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit vyākaraṇa.) /SSTM I,81/

biyalanggi "blabbermouth, gossiper"

Mo. bilangγačі "flatterer, fawner; dissembler, hypocrite; hypocritical, flattering"

(Likely to be a borrowing Mo. → Ma. but the absence of a firm etymology in Mo. and the semantic disparity between the forms make this problematic.) /SSTM I,69/

bodi "bodhi -- enlightenment"

Mo. bodi, bodhi "perfection (rel.), saintliness; enlightenment or illumination of a Buddha or Bodhisattva"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately of Sanskrit origin.) /S 688/

bodisatu "bodhisattva"

Mo. bodisadu-a, bodisadv, bodisung "a bodhisattva, saintly person approaching perfect enlightenment and thus becoming a Buddha"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit bodhisattva.) /S 688/

bodombi "to calculate, to figure; to plan"

Evenk. bodo-	Ulc. bodo-, bodi-
Sol. bodo-	Orok. bodo-, boddo-
Oroc. budu-	Nan. bodo-
Ud. bodo-	

Mo. bodu- "a) to calculate, compute, reckon, count, estimate; b) to think, reflect, consider, take into account; to strive after; to remember"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. by distribution but the development of forms indicates a more recent period of borrowing; this is a borderline case for ancient/early period.) /S 688/

bohimbi "to bind the feet"

Evenk. bōk-	
Ev. bok-	Oroc. boki-
Neg. bok-	Nan. boki-

Mo. boγu- "a) to bind, tie, bundle, wrap, envelope b) to stop, restrain, block, bar, obstruct c) to oblige, compel, bind, obligate"

(Early Mo. → STu.; the NTu. forms may be borrowings through Yakut, cf. Pekarskij Vol.I p.511 бох- "to entangle".) /SSTM I,89/

bohoto "a camel's hump"

Mo. bökü(n) "hump of a camel"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with morpheme addition in Ma.; cf. also bokto and buksu listed separately.) /SSTM I,104/

boisile "amber"

Mo. boyisil "yellow amber"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; according to Hauer p.107 ultimately from Tibetan spos-sel.) /SSTM I,89/

bojiri ilha "chrysanthemum"

Evenk. bujir
Ev. boduruka
Ud. pujuligi
(all with meanings similar to the Mongol)

Mo. bujigir "curly, frizzly (of hair), fleecy, wooly; hairy, shaggy"
Khalkha бужгир

(Problematic; appears to be a loan from Mo. but the phonetic changes indicate that the word has an onomat. origin or is felt as such in Tu.) /SSTM I,103/

bokirshûn "stiff, unable to move the limbs normally"

Mo. bokir "weakened, bent; bow-legged; dirty, untidy"

(SSTM places the Ma. form in correspondence with Mo. boγu- (cf. bohimbi listed separately) while Hauer p.107 offers the above Mo. etymology. Problematic due to semantic change.) /SSTM I,89/

bokson "threshold"

Evenk. basurga
Sol. basagga, basarga

Mo. bosuγ-a "threshold"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with metathesis taking place internally in the Ma.; cf. TMEN #105.) /SSTM I,76/

bokto "hunchback"
also Ma. buktu "a hunchback, deformed"

Mo. bögtür, bögetür "stooping, bent; hunchback"
also Mo. bökütei, bökütü "having a hump or humps (of camels)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; Mo. bökütü represents the likeliest donor form.) /SSTM I,104/

bolambi "to roast, to broil"

Evenk. bula- Ulc. bula-
Sol. bula- "to bury" Orok. bēllu-
Ud. bula- Nan. bola-
(excepting Solon, the above forms have the meaning "to bury in ashes, cover with hot ashes to cook")

Mo. bula- "to conceal; to plant; to bury"

Khalkha булах

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; the generalized meaning of the Mo. has in Tu. become narrowed to burying in hot ashes and in Ma. loses all sense of burying, becoming solely a cooking term.)/SSTM I,106/

bolgosu, bolhosu "a slave of the third generation"

Sol. bōl "slave"
Ev. bōl " "
Orok. bōl " "

Mo. boγul "slave, serf, bondsman; slavery, servitude, serfdom"

(Problematic due to semantic and phonetic disparity; the other Tu. forms are no doubt, however, borrowings from Mo.; if borrowed in Ma. then metathesis has taken place.) /SSTM I,91/

boljombi "to agree on, to promise, to fix (a date), to decide to"

Evenk. bolǰo-

Mo. bolǰu- "to agree on; to make an appointment; to determine beforehand, prearrange; to foresee, surmise, know beforehand"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 688/

bolori "autumn, fall" J. bolo erin "autumn"

Evenk. bolo
Sol. bolo
Ev. bolɒni
Neg. bolo
Oroc. bolo
Ud. bolo
Ulc. bolo
Orok. bolo
Nan. bolo

Mo. bol- "a) to become, change into; to happen, occur... b) to be able...c) to ripen, mature, become cooked..."

(Correspondence dismissable on semantic and structural grounds; only if the Tu. forms could be linked to a verb <u>within</u> Tu. of similar meaning to the Mo. could a correspondence be supported.) /SSTM I,93/

bolosu "glass"

Mo. bolur "crystal, rock crystal"

(Problematic; like <u>bolgosu</u> listed above, this form has both semantic and phonetic divergences from the Mo. but nevertheless is likely to be recent Mo. → Ma.; Hauer p.110 etymologizes the Ma. as made up of Mo. <u>bolur</u> and the final morpheme of Ma. <u>falasu</u> "enamel".) /SSTM I,93/

borbo "Achilles tendon" (Hauer has <u>borbe</u> as obsol. form)

Mo. borbi "part of the leg just above the heel; Achilles tendon"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1221/

borcilambi "to hang up to dry"

Mo. borčala- "to cut meat in strips for drying"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymological grounds, due to Mo. borča "meat cut in strips and dried", the Mo. verb being a regular derivation from the noun form.) /SSTM I,76/

bordombi "to fatten (stock)"

Mo. bordu-, borda- "to fatten animals; to fertilize the soil"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /SSTM I,112/

boro "gray"

Evenk. boro

Mo. boru "gray, brown; dark, swarthy (face); plain, simple, ordinary; coarse, rough"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,96/

borton "dirty (especially the face)"

Evenk. burtak

Mo. burtaγ "impurity, stain, dirt, defilement, filth; unclean, dirty, soiled, filthy"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological grounds; Ma. berten "dirt, grime" is perhaps an internal development of Ma.) /S 688/

boso "cloth" J. bosu "cloth"

Sol. báš'u	Ulc. busu
Neg. boso, bosu	Orok. busu
Oroc. busu	Nan. boso

Mo. bös "material for making clothes, textile, cotton, linen"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; this falls into the well-known pattern of Tü. → Mo. → Tu., cf. Tü. (ED 389) bo:z

"cotton cloth" which is ultimately Greek in origin.) /S 687/

bubu baba "mumbling"

Mo. bübüne- "to mumble, mutter"

(Problematic due to onomat. nature of form.) /SSTM I,100/

bucembi "to die" (Hauer has budembi as obsol. form)
J. buče- "to die"

Evenk. bu-	Ud. bude-
Sol. bu-	Ucl. bu-, bul-
Neg. bu-	Orok. bu-, bul-
Oroc. bude-	Nan. bu-, buj-, bur-

Mo. büril- "to die (obsol.); to be wasted, squandered, destroyed, or exterminated; to perish, be ruined"

(Correspondence problematic; the forms in Tu. are strongly represented while the Mo. form is isolated, so without etymology within Mo.; if borrowed then this is a rare case of Tu. → Mo. but more likely the correspondence is unfounded and merely phonetic chance.) /SSTM I,99/

buda "cooked cereal, cooked rice, food" J. budgai "meal"

Neg. buda	Orok. buda, budda
Oroc. buda	Nan. boda
Ulc. buda	

Mo. budaγ-a(n) "grain, cereals, millet, porridge, gruel, groats; dinner, meal"

Khalkha буудаа

(Like adun, this form has the paradox of representing phonetically either a modern dialect form of Mo. such as Khalkha or a much earlier borrowing. On the basis of distribution throughout STu. it can be classified as an early loan Mo. → STu.) /K 1175/

buduhu moo "wild tea -- the leaves and stems of which are used to make dye"

Evenk. budu-
Sol. buda-
Ud. butu-
(all with meanings similar to the Mo.)

Mo. budu- "to paint, color, stain, daub; to dye; to smear"

(Problematic; the correspondence rests on the assumption that the Ma. has borrowed the Mo. form in the nomen futuri (Mo. budugu) to serve as an adjective for Ma. moo "tree"! The other Tu. forms have of course been borrowed from Mo.; in the absence of an etymology for buduhu within Ma. the correspondence cannot be dismissed outright but remains suspect.) /SSTM I,102/

budurhùna "a type of grass that grows on alkaline soil and is eaten by camels"

Mo. budurγan-a "Sueda prostrata, Iljinia Regelii"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 689/

bufaliyambi "to deny (what has been said)"

Mo. buu, büü "prohibitive negation preceding imperative"

(Dismissable on structural grounds.) /SSTN I,117/

buge "gristle" (Hauer has buhe as obsol. form)

Evenk. bukse, buhse	Ud. buxe
Ev. būs	Ulc. bukse
Neg. buxse	Orok. bukse
Oroc. bukse	Nan. bukse

Mo. mögeresü(n) "cartilage, gristle"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM I,105/

buhû "deer" (Hauer lists bugû as obsol. form)
J. bugu "deer"

Evenk. bugu	Ulc. boča(n), bulča(n) "stag"
Sol. bogo	Nan. boča
Neg. bočan	Oroc. buča(n) "stag"

Mo. buγu "a male deer"

Khalkha буга
Buriat буга

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /HCG 4/

bujan "forest, woods"

Evenk. burgak "thicket of poplar"
Ev. burgag "thicket"
Orok. buda "thicket of willow"

Mo. burγasu(n) "willow, osier; willow branches, twigs of willow; brushwood"

(Doerfer TMEN #103 sees this form in Tu. as a very early loan from Mo., Ma. burga (listed separately) representing a later second borrowing. But the semantic narrowing takes place from Tu. (general) to Mo. (specific), so that a strict methodology would have this a loan Tu. → Mo.; Tu. *-rg- > -ǰ- regularly in Manchu, cf. Tsintsius 1949 p.236) /PVG 21/

buka "a ram"

Evenk. buka
Sol. buxa

Mo. buq-a "bull"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with semantic alteration.) /S 688/

buksimbi "to ambush, to lie in wait for"

Nan. bugda- "to hide"

Mo. bögsi- "to wait in ambush"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological grounds.) SSTM I,102/

buksu "the lumbar region, the loins"

Evenk. buksu

Mo. bögse(n) "backside, posterior part, rear, rump, buttock"

Khalkha бөгс

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,104/

buku "wrestler"

Evenk. buku "strong"
Sol. buxu

Mo. böke "wrestler"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,105/

bulca yali "the flesh on the arms and legs"

Sol. bulčatta

Mo. bulčing "calf, muscle of the leg or arm; muscles"

(The chronology of the Mo. loan is here problematic. The distribution pattern indicates a recent loan but the morphemic change in Ma. (and in Sol.) indicates an earlier period of loan.) /SSTM I,109/

bulcambi "to shun work"

Mo. bulta- "to avoid, flee, dodge, sneak or slip away"

(Again the chronology of the loan is problematic. The Ma. should be a recent loan from Mo. but the phonetic shape is anomalous. Ma. may be contaminated by Ma. milarcambi "to shun, to dodge, to stay away from".) /SSTM I,109/

buldurimbi, budulimbi "to stumble, to trip (of horses and cows)"

Sol. buǰerī-
Nan. buduri-

Mo. büdüri-, büdüre-, büldüri- "to stumble"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,103/

bulhûmbi "to bubble up, to swell up"

Mo. bulqa- "to dip in water, to rinse"

(Dismissable on semantic and etymon grounds, note Ma. bultahûn "prominent, obvoius, bulging" which is clearly

part of the same Ma. etymon cluster.) /SSTM I,108/

buljan "growth on the skin" (Hauer also defines as "swelling")

Evenk. buldurū "tussock"
Ev. bulduka " "

Mo. bulduru "bump, lump, wen, swelling; hillock, knoll"

(Not a Mo. loan; the presence of a stem *bul- with the sense of "swelling, bump" in both Mo. and Ma. is noteworthy, but these are likely to be of onomat. origin. Cf. Ma. bulhûmbi (listed separately), also Mo. bultari "sticking out, swollen".) /SSTM I,107/

bulukan "warm"

Evenk. bulen, buldi
Sol. bulditti
Ud. bugi
Nan. bul bi

Mo. büliyen, büligen "warm, lukewarm (of liquids); fever (of a child)"

Khalkha бүлээн

(Problematic; the correspondence is undeniable but certainly not a recent loan.) /SSTM I,107/

bur bur seme "gurgling forth, swelling up (of a water spring)"

Mo. bur bur ki- "to gurgle, to bubble"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. though ultimately onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I,111/

buraki "dust"

Mo. burgi- "to rise in clouds; to whirl (as dust, water, or smoke); to fume with anger, become enraged"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I,113/

buran taran "in disarray"

Mo. ————————
MMo. bura tara "scattered, in disarray"

(Proposed by Ligeti 1960 p.237; recent Mo. → Ma.)

burašambi "to blow up snow"

Evenk. būrga-
Nan. bora-

Mo. burγani- "for the snow to fall"

(Pre-loan correspondence; in this regard some Inner Asian weather terms have infiltrated the Russian language, e.g. пурга "snowstorm", буран "(violent) snowstorm, blizzard".) SSTM I,111/

buren "conch horn, brass horn, trumpet"

Nan. bure

Mo. büriy-e(n), bürege "trumpet, horn"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I,115/

burga, burha "willow branch"
also burgasu notho "willow bark"

Evenk. burgan
Sol. burgā "willow"
Nan. bojga mōni "willow"

Mo. burγasu(n) "willow, osier; willow branches; twigs of willow; brushwood"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; cf. also bujan listed separately.) /K 1221/

burgimbi "to be in disarray"

Mo. bürgi- "to be seized with fear or terror; to be in a panic; to be confused; to be scattered"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,112/

burgiyen "pommel" (Hauer has bulgiyen as obsol. form)

Mo. bügürge(n) "the pommel of a saddle"
Khalkha бүүргэр

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 689/

burimbi "to stretch over, to cover (the surface of an object with leather)"

Ulc. buri-
Nan. buri-

Mo. büri- "to cover, envelope; to upholster"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

bursan hubarak (Zakh. 541) "Buddhist clergy"

Mo. bursang "Buddhist priest or clergy"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis for Buddhist terminology; see also hûbarak listed separately.) /SSTM I,114/

burtei "widespread, common"

Evenk. buri
Nan. bortaj, borti

Mo. büri "a) each, every b) completely, entirely, wholly, fully"

(Probably recent Mo. → Ma. with suffix addition; but perhaps influenced by Ma. biretei "totally, universally, completely" which is a regular formation from Ma. birimbi "to roll, to flood; to overrun".) /S 689/

buru bara "dim, unclear, hazy, hidden"

Mo. бүрүг бараг "dark, dim [ly], indistinct [ly], confused [ly]"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonologicaly basis. Cf. also farhûn listed separately.) /SSTM I,96/

burulambi "to flee, to take flight"

Sol. burūlā-

Mo. buruɣula- "to flee, run away, take to one's heels"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,115/

burulu "a horse having mixed red and white hair"

Evenk. burul "gray"
Sol. bōral
Ev. burna, burno
Orok. bol'o "gray"

Mo. buɣural, buɣurul "grey, grey-haired, greyish"

(On the basis of phonology the Ma. is a recent borrowing from Mo., but the semantic change is problematic.) /S 689/

buša "more"

Mo. bisi "colloquial form of busu" note Mo. busu "other, different"

(Correspondence dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I,115/

butu "dark, dim, hidden, secret"

Mo. bitegüü, bitügüü "a) closed, shut, sealed, without an opening b) dense, thick, full...c) subtle, ambiguous, equivocal, secret"

Khalkha бүтүү
Buriat бүтүү

(Recent Mo. → Ma., possibly a modern dialect such as Buriat is the donor.) /SSTM I,116/

butun "crock, large jar"

Sol. butū

Mo. butung "jar with a small opening, used for wine, etc."

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; Hauer p.130 errs in connecting the Ma. form with Mo. <u>büdügün</u> "large, huge, big".) /SSTM I,116/

burtu kara "a fine black horse" <u>note</u> Ma. kara "black (of animals"

Mo. buγural, buγurul "grey, grey-haired, greyish"

(Problematic semantically; nevertheless the Manchus borrowed the bulk of their horse and cattle terms from the Mongols so this cannot be dismissed out of hand. Note also <u>burulu</u> listed separately.) /SSTM I, 114/

cabdara, cabdari "a brown horse with white mane and tail"

Evenk. čabidar "fox with white mane and tail"
Sol. sūdār "skewbald"

Mo. čabidar "reddish-yellow with white mane and tail"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /S 700/

cabi "the hair on the breast and stomach (of a horse)"

Mo. čabi "groin"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2091/

cacaraku "a gray grasshopper"

Mo. čarčaqai, čarčaγ-a, čarčaγai, čarča, tarča "locust, grasshopper"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2115/

cacari "a tent" J. ǰačili "tabernacle"

Mo. čačar "large tent, open tent, awning tent, hut, stall"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., despite the J. form.) /K 2104/

cacumbi "to sprinkle, to spill, to pour a libation, to drip"

Evenk. čaču-

Mo. saču-, čaču- "to sow, strew, scatter, spread; to sprinkle, spray"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2104/

cagan (Hauer) "white; white paper, document"
cagan (Norman) "books, documents, papers"

Sol. čigá, čigán

Mo. čaγan "white (also political); light (of color); the white of an egg..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma; cf. šanyan listed separately for another reflex.) /SSTM II,382/

cahan "buttermilk, sour milk"

Mo. čaγ-a "boiled taraγ"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I,378/

cahara (Hauer) "water bottle hung from the belt"

Mo. čaγariγ "circle, ring; hoop; rim of a wheel"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II,378/

caharnambi "to clear the throat and nostrils (of a horse)"

Mo. saqaγura- "to have a swelling in the throat"

(Problematic both phonetically and semantically.) /SSTM II,378/

cai "tea" J. ča "tea"

Evenk. čaj	Ud. čaja
Sol. sai	Ulc. čaj
Ev. čai, čaji	Orok. čaji
Neg. čaj	Nan. čai, čaj
Oroc. čaj	

Mo. čai "tea"

(Early Mo. → Tu. (though the J. form is a direct borrowing from Chinese); ultimately a Chinese word but through a Persian or other Iranian intermediary, cf. TMEN #1057.) /S 700/

caise, caisi "hairpin" (Hauer lists caisi as obsol. form)

Mo. čayisa "long hairpin"

(Both the Ma. and Mo. may be direct and separate loans from Chinese ch'ai-tzu 釵子 .) /SSTM II,378/

cakcin "ten billion"

Mo. čaγčiγ "indefinitely large number, usually hundred thousand million, also ten billion"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II,380/

cakilgatu kuluk "a fine horse with whorls of hair on both hind legs"

Mo. čakilγan "a) lightning b) electricity"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note Mo. küliig "a strong and swift horse", it is likely the compound itself was borrowed but as such is unattested in the dictionaries.) /SSTM II,379/

caksimbi "to rattle, vibrate, beat a cymbal"

Mo. čaγči- "to chatter (of a magpie)"

(Perhaps a borrowing but problematic due to onomat. nature.) /SSTM II,379/

cala "over there, on the other side; previously, before" also Ma. casi "in that direction, thither, there"

Evenk. čāgū Oroc. čāla
Sol. čāgū Ulc. čadu
Ev. čāg Orok. čōtči
Neg. čāskī Nan. čadu
(all with meanings such as "over there, on the far side" and "in that direction, thither")

Mo. čaγan-a, čiγan-a "farther, beyond, behind, yonder, trans-, after"
also Mo. čaγasi, činaγsi "away from; farther, beyond; from a certain time on, in the future"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 26/

calgari "unorderly, inexperienced in the things of the world, not businesslike" (Hauer has calahari and calhari as obsol. forms)

Mo. čalaγar, čalγar "error, fault, omission, inaccuracy, negligence; wide mouthed"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II,380/

calgimbi (Hauer) "to overflow, surge"

Mo. čalgi- "to splash (as liquid carried in a container); to wash over (as waves); to pour over"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2101/

caliyan "pay and provisions" (Hauer has ciyanliyang as obsol. form)

Mo. čaling "wages, pay, salary; stipend"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; cf. Chinese ch'ien-liang 錢糧 .) /K 2099/

cam tere boo (Zakh. 925) "cloister, chapel, dwelling place (of Buddhists)"

Mo. čam "Lamaist masked dance cham..."

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II,383/

camci "slip (garment worn under a woman's gown)" (Hauer has camji as obsol. form)

Evenk. čamča "fur coat"
Sol. sanča
Ev. čāmi
Nan. čamča

Mo. čamča "shirt"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM II, 383/

camhan "a temporary arch or structure over a street that carries slogans or holiday greetings"

Mo. čamqaγ "tower; turret, bastion, stronghold"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 382/

can "a small cymbal"

Mo. čang "cymbals"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.)

canggalimbi "to be exhausted, to get tired, to tire"

Mo. čangγa- "to be [come] thirsty; to be [come] dried up"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 383-384/

cangkir niyongniyaha "the speckled goose of Chinghai"

Mo. čangkir "whitish, blond; grey (of hair)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note Ma. niongniyaha "goose".) /SSTM II, 382/

cara "a tall wine vessel made of gold, silver, or pewter"

Mo. čara "a large shallow metal plate; a large wooden bowl"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with semantic change in Ma.) /K 2112/

carcinambi "to congeal, to begin to freeze, to ice up; to heal (of wounds)"

Mo. čarča- "to congeal or coagulate from cold"

(Mo. → Ma. on etymon grounds, cf. Mo. čar "layer of frost on the surface of snow; hard crust on snow". The period of the loan is problematic.)

carki "a wooden clapper"

Mo. čargil "castanets"

Khalkha царгил

(Possible a recent loan from Mo. into Ma.; note Ma. carkimbi below, where the expected deverbal noun form within Ma. would yield *carkin. Thus on the basis of Manchu word formation the above form is a borrowing.) /SSTM II, 385/

carkimbi "to rattle together (as belt pendants), to create a dissonance, to tinkle"

Mo. čargi- "to rattle, make a harsh sound; to speak harshly or naughtily"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II,385/

cejen "the upper part of the chest"

Mo. čegeǰi(n) "upper front part of the body; chest, breast, bosom"

Khalkha цээж

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; cf. šejilembi listed separately.) /K 2125/

celmen "nap or pile on cloth"

Mo. čelm-e(n) "nap or pile on cloth"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 420/

cene "a peony"

Mo. čene "peony"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 421/

cengme "coarse Tibetan wool" (Hauer has cengmu as obsol. form)

Mo. čembe, čengbe, čengm-e "woolen cloth"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 420/

cerguwe "roe, fish eggs" (Hauer has cerhuwe as obsol. form)

Evenk. tise	Neg. tise
Sol. turse	Orok. tersu
Ev. tīs	Ulc. turse

Mo. türisü(n)

(Problematic; the correspondence between the Mo. and the non-Manchu Tu. forms is undeniable, but the only explanation for the Ma. form, if related, would be an early metathesis with corresponding sound change: *turi > *tiru > *ciru > *ceruwe but still leaving the velar consonant inexplicable.) /SSTM II, 189/

cese "register, official record"

Mo. čese(n) "list, roll, catalog, register; report"

(Direction of loan uncertain, may be separate borrowings from Chinese ts'e-tzŭ 冊子 .) /SSTM II, 422/

ci "paint, lacquer"

Mo. čii "varnish, lacquer"

(Direction of loan uncertain, may be separate borrowings from the source, Chinese ch'i 漆 .) /SSTM II, 394/

cib cib seme "very quietly"

Mo. čimege(n), čim-e "a) sound, noise, hubbub b) rumor, news, report"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 396/

cibahanci "a lamaist nun"

Mo. šimnanča, šimnača, šibaγanča, čibaγanča "nun, female devotee who has shaved her hair and has taken certain vows, lay sister"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; the ultimate source for this word may be Sogdian.) /K 2149/

cifun "tax, duty"

Mo. cübeng "rent; fee"

(According to Schmidt 1932 p.611 the word is borrowed from Chinese ch'ou-fen 抽分 and if so is certainly Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.) /SSTM II, 401/

cikimbi "to insert or attach snugly, to fit exactly"

Evenk. čikča- Ulc. čigǰiči-
Sol. š'ikče- Orok. titītči-
Nan. čiko-

Mo. čiki- "to jam, stuff, press, push, shove; to stuff oneself, overeat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the other Tu. forms may well date to an earlier period of borrowing.) /SSTM II, 391/

cin "straight, straightforward"

Mo. čing "firm [ly], unshakeable [ly]; truthful [ly], sincere [lȳ]"

(Problematic; if the forms are related it is likely to be due to separate borrowings from a common Chinese source.) /SSTM II, 258/

cindahan "snow rabbit, varying hare"(Lepus timidus)"

Evenk. čindakān

Mo. činday-a(n) "white hare or rabbit, polar hare"

Khalkha Чандага
Buriat шанаага(н)

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2136/

cindamani (Zach. 932) "wondrous gem, a talisman among Buddhists"

Mo. čindamani "wish-granting jewel"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., ultimately from Sanskrit cintāmani.) /SSTM II, 396/

cinuhun "cinnabar; bright red"

Mo. singqu(n), šungqu "vermillion; red ink; red or purple varnish"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 396/

cira "face, complexion" Sibe 55 ciraa "face, facial expression"

Sol. š'ira

Mo. čirai "face, physiognomy; appearance, mien"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 700/

cira "powerful (of horses)"

Mo. čigiray, čigiireg "strong, robust, powerful; massive, solid, vigorous"

Khalkha чийрэг
Buriat шийраг

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 399/

cirgambi (Hauer) "to be jammed or stuck"

Mo. čirya- "to stop up, dam"

(SSTM II, 399 proposed a correspondence with Mo. sirya- "to be stubborn, unyielding, obstinate; to dispute"

while inexplicably missing the above Mo. correspondence. Recent Mo. → Ma.; the Mo. form proposed by SSTM may have an historic connection with Mo. čirγa- but not directly with Ma. cirgambi.)

cobto "rags, shreds; to shreds"

Mo. šobqu "pointed, cone-shaped"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM II, 410/

cocari "the common snipe" (Hauer lists as cocori)

Mo. čuučali "snipe"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

cohombi "to do especially, to consider the most important aspect"

Mo. čoqu- "to agree, affirm, confirm; to make a decision; to make a resolution"

(Should be recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis but the semantics are problematic.) /S 700/

cohoro "piebald, dappled"

Evenk. čoqur
Sol. sōxor Ulc. čoki
Oroc. čoko Nan. čokoã

Mo. čouqur, čoqur "variegated, dappled, spotted, mottled; pock-marked"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis; the other Tu. forms introduced by another route.) /K 2196/

cokcorombi "to rise up vertically, to be high"

Evenk. čoko- "to squat"
Neg. čoxitin- "to roll into a ball"
Ulc. čokčoǰo- "to squat"
Nan. čokčomia- " "

Mo. čoγčala- "to pile or stack up, accumulate; to build, construct; to compile"
also Mo. čoγčai- "to rise, tower up; to squat"

(Appears to be an early loan Mo. → Tu., the etymology lies in Mo. čoγča "heap, pile; mass, complex, aggregate...". But the exact donor form is uncertain so the time of borrowing is problematic.) /SSTM II, 404/

coki "prominent, jutting out"

Mo. čoqu "protuberance on the sinciput; the upper part of the forehead"

Khalkha цох

(Despite the phonetic similarity the correspondence is unfounded.) /SSTM II, 403/

cokimbi "to stick in the ground (arrows and like objects)"

Evenk. čōk- "to dig, dig out"
Ev. čuk- "to dig into"
Neg. čok- "to hollow out"
Ulc. čoki- "to peck"
Nan. čoki- "to gouge with the bill"

Mo. čoki- "to hit, beat, thrash, strike; to knock, rap; to crush (as an enemy)...to buck; to peck, pick (of birds)"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on the assumption that the Mo. is onomat. in origin and the the semantic change to digging occurred in NTu.) /SSTM II, 403/

cokto "arrogant, conceited"

Sol. š'ottor

Mo. čoγtai, čoγtu "having embers or sparks; blazing, ardent; plucky, strong...spirited"

(Dismissable on phonological basis and on semantic grounds.) /S 700/

colo "courtesy name, nickname, title"

Mo. čola, čolu "rank; title, appellation; nickname, ode, song of praise"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 700/

comcok "bunch, cluster"

Mo. čomčaγ, čomčuγ "tent with a pointed top; pavilion; obelisk; hair gathered into a tuft"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis, this form violates the rules of Ma. phonology and as such must be either a literary borrowing or else felt to be a Mongolism within Ma.) /SSTM II, 406/

como, coman, cooman "goblet, large cup of wine"

Mo. čomu "wine cup, goblet"

Khalkha цомсо

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 406/

contoho "a hole or gap in a wall or dike" (Hauer lists sonto as obsol. form)

Neg. čoŋdoxo "pit, cavity"
Oroc. čoŋdō " "
Ulc. čōŋdō " "
Orok. tondo " "
Nan. čondō " "

Mo. čongγur "uneven, rough, rugged (of terrain or a road)" note also Mo. ongγurqai čongγurqai "full of holes; holes"

(Pre-Mongol correspondence. The lack of representation in NTu. is, however, problematic.) /SSTM II, 407/

corho "an iron tube on a helmet for holding a tassel; a wooden tube used in the brewing of liquor"

Evenk. sargo "tube, pipe (for the distillation of liquor)"

Mo. čorγu "tube, pipe, spout, funnel; pump"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 65/

coron "a four-holed wooden flute"

Mo. čuγur "a kind of reed pipe"

Khalkha цуур , цоор

(Recent Mo. → Ma., possibly a modern dialect borrowing.) /SSTM II, 408/

cukcambi "to protrude"

Evenk. čukčuma "sharp, pointed"

Mo. čuqui- "to stick out, protrude or appear in part, show slightly"

(Problematic; should be a recent loan according to the pattern but the Mo. donor form is unattested. Note also Ma. cukcuhun "protruding forward".) /SSTM II, 412/

culgambi "to inspect troops, to hold an inspection; to hold an assembly"

Mo. čuγla- "to gather, assemble; to wrap"
note also Mo. čiγul- "to assemble, accumulate..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. The donor form is uncertain: either a metathesis of Mo. čuγla- took place (cf. Mo. čuγ "together with, jointly") or the donor form was the causative of Mo. čiγul-, namely Mo. čiγulγa- "to assemble, gather, collect".) /S 700/

cumcumbi "to squat holding one's arms about the knees"

Mo. čomčuyi- "to contract, shrink; to greet by bending one knee"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 414/

cungguru "navel"

Evenk. čuŋurē	Neg. čoŋojo
Sol. suŋur	Nan. čuŋuru

Mo. cüŋgürüg (Kow. 2222) "cavity, hollow, eye of fruit"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /K 2222/

curgimbi, colgambi "to chatter, to make lots of noise"

Mo. šuugi-, siγugi- "to whistle, rustle, sing or howl (of wind or storm, flood, etc.); to make noise (of a crowd of people)"

(Onomat. in origin and therefore problematic.) /SSTM II, 410/

curhû "the young of the pike"

Evenk. čirukaj "pike"
Sol. sōraldī "pike"

Mo. čuruqai "pike(fish)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 410/

dabagan "a mountain pass"

Oroc. dawa
Ulc. daba "mountain chain"
Orok. dawaku, dawwakku

Mo. dabaγ-a(n) "mountain pass, mountain range; difficulty, obstacle, victory in a contest"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the other Tu. forms may be internal developments from the verb, cf. dabambi listed separately.) /HCG 4/

dabambi "to cross, to surpass, to go beyond, to climb over"

Evenk. dawa-
Neg. daw-
Ulc. dawu-
Orok. dawa-
Nan. daba-

Mo. daba- "to climb; to climb over, cross over; to ascend; to transgress, violate, break (as a law); to overcome, surmount (as obstacles); to exceed, excel"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /HCG 5/

dabkuri "double, having layers, storied (building)"

Evenk. dapkar
Sol. dakkur
Neg. daktipin "lining"
Oroc. dakti
Ud. dakti "quilted clothing"
Nan. daktŭ

Mo. dabqur "row, tier, layer, stratum; story of a building; double; consisting of several rows or layers..."

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; cf. TMEN #848.) /S 696/

dabsun "salt" J. dabsun "salt"

Evenk. dawusun	Ud. daugu "salt box"
Sol. doosóŋ-	Ulc. dawsu(n), dausu(n)
Neg. daksun	Orok. dawsu(n), dausu(n)
Oroc. daksu, dausu	Nan. daosõ, daosũ

Mo. dabusun "salt"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis; the phonology does not indicate a loan direction but the role of salt as a trade item must be taken into account and so this word falls together with the vocabulary of important early trade items and as such is a Mongol loan into Tu.) /S 696/

dabta- "to do repeatedly; to do over a long period of time; to pile up (v.i.); to repeat over and over in order to instill, to din into; to beat metal thin"

Mo. dabta- "to repeat, reiterate; to review a lesson; to forge, beat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 5/

dagilambi "to prepare, to get ready, to set out wine or food"

Mo. dayila- "to treat, regale, entertain"

(Problematic on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /PVG 61/

dahasun (Zakh. 778) "earth" [as used in the Manchu version of the I-Ching]

Mo. toγusu(n) "dust; atom (Buddh.)"
MMo. to'osun "dust"

(Proposed by Sinor 1960 p.141; phonetics and semantics remain problematic.)

dahimbi, dahumbi "to repeat, to do again"

Ulc. daktu-
Nan. dakči-

Mo. daki- "to repeat, renew, reiterate, do again"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 695/

dahû "a fur coat worn with the fur outside"

Evenk. daku Ev. daxa
Sol. daxu Nan. daxo, daxu

Mo. daqu "coat with fur outside"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; according to Doerfer (TMEN #N90 = 2035) the etymology for this word is to be found in Tü.) /K 1570/

dahur (Hauer) "Daguria"

Evenk. dag̊ur
Sol. dag̊ūr

Mo. dagur ulus (Kow. 1591) "Daghurs, Solons, Tungus tribes inhabiting the banks of the Nonni River"

(An ethnonym for the Dagur Mongols; problematic as a correspondence. Attempts to find an etymology within Mo. have been unconvincing, while the word is common in Asia as a reference to north-central Manchuria generally.) /K 1591/

daifu "medical doctor"

Oroc. dajpu
Ulc. dajpu(n)
Nan. dajfo

Mo. dayifu "Chinese physician"

(Direction of loan unclear; may be Mo. ← Chinese → STu.; source is Chinese tai-fu 大夫 .) /SSTM I, 191/

dain "troops, army; war, battle"

Mo. dayin "war, battle; hostility, enmity"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1548/

dalan "withers; dam, dike"

Evenk. dalaŋ "fat on the back of the head (of animals)"

Mo. dalang "nape of the neck (of animals); withers (of a horse); strip of land; furrow; the part of a dirt road between the wheel tracks..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonolgical basis.) /S696/

dalda "secluded, hidden spot"

Evenk. daldā- "to cover"
Sol. dalda "cache, hidden place"
Ev. dalda "lean-to, hut"
Nan. daldama "screen, barrier"

Mo. dalda "hidden, concealed; secret [ly]; latent [ly]; reticent [ly]; illegal [ly]; secret, something hidden or unknown"

(In view of the Evenk. verb form, as well as Ma. daldambi "to hide from view, to screen, to cover" and dalimbi "to block off, to obstruct..." it may be that this is a loan from Ma. into Mo., but the semantic spread dictates otherwise.) /SSTM I, 194/

daliyan "a kind of folding pouch worn over the girdle, a satchel"

Mo. daling "a purse carried hanging over the büse" note Mo. büse "a girdle or belt..."

(Direction of loan unclear, may be Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese ta-lien 褡褳 .) /SSTM I, 194/

dambagu "tobacco" (Hauer lists dambaku as obsol. form)

Evenk. damga
Sol. daŋga
Neg. damga
Oroc. dāmixi, dāmisi
Ud. dami
Ulc. daŋpi
Nan. damaxi

Mo. tamaki(n), tamiki "tobacco"

(The Ma. is borrowed from Chinese tan-pa-ku, cf. Schmidt 1932 p.618. The other Tu. forms, however, are likely to be borrowings from Mongol, with the exception of the Ulc. form.) /S 696/

damjan "a carrying pole, a carrying pole load"

Neg. ǰamda "yoke"
Ud. ǰamǰala- "to carry on a pole"
Ulc. ǰamǰa "yoke, pole"
Nan. ǰamǰa "yoke, pole"

Mo. damna- "to carry on a shoulder a load suspended on each end of a yoke; for two or more persons to carry a load suspended in the middle of a pole; to carry on a litter or stretcher"

(Separate borrowings, Chinese → Mo. and Chinese → Ma.; cf. Chinese tan-chang 擔杖 for the Ma. form; the Mo. is likely to be, as Lessing p.228 assumes, a verbal formation from Chinese tan 擔 .) /SSTM I, 247/

dang "only, just"

Mo. dang "single, in a single row or file; singular, odd, not in pairs...solely, exclusively, nothing but, completely"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 195-196/

dangpuli "a pawnshop"

Mo. dang "pawn, pledge"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; cf. tang 當 , tang-pu 當舖 .) /SSTM I, 197/

dangse "records, document, register, archive, the census register"

Mo. dangsa(n), dangse "account book, journal, office diary, files; register, annals, records list, roll; catalog"

(May be Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; the source is Chinese tang-tzu 檔子 .) /SSTM I, 197/

dargalaha amban "a dignitary who has retired with full pay"

Mo. daruγ-a "chief, superior, chairman, commander; director, manager; elder"

(Dismissable on etymon grounds; the Ma. dargalaha is the perfect participle form of dargalambi "to grant privileges", cf. the following headword.) /SSTM I, 200/

dargalambi "to grant privileges"

Mo. darqala- "to do the work of an artisan, craftsman, or smith; to exempt from taxes and official duties; to set aside as sacred (as a forest or mountain)"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the verb form is from a well-known and much-studied noun form darxan, tarxan common as a title throughout Inner Asia, cf. TMEN #879.)

dargiyambi "to hold up the fists, to brandish (a sword or staff)"

Nan. darg'an- "to shake one's fist"

Mo. daγǰi- "to tremble, quiver, shake; to chatter, rattle"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 200/

darimbi "to scrape against, to rub a sore (of horses); to pass through, to drop by, to perform an errand or other action on one's way somewhere else or while doing something else; to make fun of, mock..."

Sol. dāri- "to drop in"
Nan. dar'a- "to pass by"

Mo. daγari- "a) to knock down or hit in passing; to run over b) to pass by; call or stop on the way, drop in c) to attack with words or insult indirectly..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 696/

dayambi "to be dependent on, to rely on (someone else's power or influence), to attach oneself to someone for gain"

Mo. daraγala- "to do or put something in order; to do successively, one after another; to do something time and again"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I, 199/

debsimbi, debšembi "to fan, to flap, to flutter"

Sol. dewi- Nan. daepsi-
Oroc. depse- Ulc. depsi-
Ud. defi-

Mo. debi- "to wave, flap (as wings); to fan; to dust, brush off (as dust); to winnow (of grain)"

Buriat дэбихэ
Khalkha дэвэх

(Early Mo. → STu. with morpheme addition after borrowing; the Sol. form is a borrowing by another route.) /SSTM I, 228/

debtelin "a volume (of an old-style book), a book, a notebook"

Mo. debter "book, volume; copybook, notebook"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, the ending in Ma. is an internal change.) /HCG 4/

defe "border, hem"

Mo. debege "marshy place, damp or wet area; alpine grassland"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 203/

dehe "fishhook"

Mo. degege "hook; hook-shaped"

Khalkha дэгээ

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 230/

dehi "forty" J. tehi "forty"

Evenk. dučin Ulc. degi, dexi
Sol. dexi Nan. dexi

Mo. döči(n) "forty"

(The Solon form is a late borrowing from Mo.; for the other Tu. forms the correspondence indicates a much earlier period of borrowing. Cf. duin, orin listed separately.) /SSTM I, 215/

deji "the choicest (part), the cream, the best part; the first portion offered as a sacrifice to the deities or to the guest of honor"

Evenk. dōji, doji

Mo. degeǰi "the first or choicest part of food or drink offered to the deities; the first cup of tea etc. or the first serving of food offered to the guest of honor; first fruits; the choicest part, cream"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 697/

dekdembi "to float, to rise"

Sol. degde-, dedde-
Oroc. degde-
Ud. degde-
Ulc. degde-
Nan. degde-

Mo. degde- "to rise; to float; to fly up; to jump, hop; to happen, occur"

(Early Mo. → STu. on pattern basis.) /S 697/

dekjimbi "to develop, to improve, to prosper"

Mo. degǰi- "to rise, improve; to thrive, prosper; to develop; to flare up"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 229/

delbi (Zakh. 807) [as the first part of compounds having to do with the ear]

Mo. delbe, delbi "petal of a flower; helix of the ear"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 232/

delbin "brim of a hat" (Hauer has meaning of "brim, rim")

Mo. delbeng, delbing "bent outward, protruding"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on basis of semantics.)

delen "udder, teat"

Evenk. delen
Ev. delŋa
Orok. ǰilia, ǰiliġa

Mo. deleng "udder, teat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 697/

delihun "spleen" (Hauer has deliyehun as obsol. form)

Evenk. delkin
Sol. delki
Ud. deligi

Mo. deligüü "spleen"

Khalkha дэлүү

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 696/

delun "mane"

Evenk. delin, delsun
Sol. dēl
Nan. derbini

Mo. del "mane of a horse or any quadruped, bristles; pointed peak of a mountain ridge, rocky crest"

(Mo. → Ma. on basis of semantics; probably a recent loan.) /S 697/

dembei "greatly, in high degree, exceedingly"

Evenk. delbi "completely, strongly, very"
Ev. delbi "strongly, quite; very much"

Mo. delbe "through and through, to pieces, asunder"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /S 697/

demniyembi "to estimate the weight of an object by weighing it in the hand"

Mo. demne- "to seesaw; to weigh; to balance"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; SSTM I, 232 proposed a correspondence between the Mo. form and Ma. demniyelembi "to stretch oneself" which is dismissable on semantic grounds.)

demun "odd, peculiar, heretical"

Orok. dejmeu "unlucky person"

Mo. demei "in vain, futile; absurd, unnecessary; without reason or cause; aimlessly, to no purpose; so-so"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /S 697/

deng "lamp, lantern"

Mo. deng "lighting device, lantern, lamp"

(Direction of loan problematic, may be Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese teng 燈 .) /SSTM I, 234/

dengse "a small steelyard"

Mo. dengse "balance, steelyard, scales"

(Direction of loan problematic, may be Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese teng-tzŭ 戥子 .) /SSTM I, 235/

deo "younger brother; younger (of males)" J. degun "younger brother"

Sol. dou, dū
Nan. deu

Mo. degüü "younger brother or sister; younger"

Khalkha дүү
Buriat дүү

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the J. form represents a separate borrowing.) /HCG 3/

deocin "duty of a younger brother, fraternal deference"

Mo. degüči, degüüči "one who is respectful toward his elder brother or to an older person of his generation"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1756/

deone "a four-year-old bovine"

Mo. dön-e(n) "four-year-old male animal (bull, camel, or elephant); four-year-old male child (obsol.)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. Note deo, deocin above where Ma. -eo- corresponds to a different Mo. representation. The standard correspondence to Mo. -ö- is Ma. -u-, and in fact a doublet occurs with the expected form, cf. dunen listed separately.) /SSTM I, 215/

deresu "feather grass, broom grass (Lasiagrostis splendens)" (Hauer also lists darasu with same meaning)

Mo. deresü(n) "feather grass, broom grass, Lasiogrostis splendens"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 237/

deribumbi "to begin, to let begin"

Oroc. deribu-, derū-
Ud. delu-
Ulc. deru-
Orok. derin-
Nan. derū-

Mo. törü- "a) to be born, come into being b) to appear, arise, occur"
MMo. dörö(ksen), törö(ksen)

(The Ma. form may be connected with derimbi "to enter" as an extension of the causative meaning "to make enter" (= "to let begin"?). The Ma. and STu. forms are not likely, on semantic and phonetic grounds, to be borrowings from Mongol; the correspondence is problematic.) /SSTM I, 237/

deribun "beginning"

Mo. terigün "head (anat., honorif. and fig.); chief; beginning; first, chief, foremost"

(Proposed by HCG p.5; Ma. deribun is a deverbal nominal formation from Ma. deribumbi (see above) and so is not a borrowing from Mongol.)

desihi "a snare for sable and similar animals"

Evenk. desun

Mo. degesü(n) "rope; rope made of hair; measure of length..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the morpheme addition has occurred internally in Ma.) /SSTM I, 238/

deyembi "to fly"

Evenk. deǧ-
Ev. deǧ-
Neg. dęg-

Mo. degde- "to rise; to float; to fly up; to jump, hop; to happen, occur"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /S 696/

do "the internal organs; the filling of pastries"
J. dolo "inside"

Evenk. dō "inside, interior"
Sol. dō "heart"
Ev. dō "inside, interior"
Neg. dō(n) "inside, interior"
Oroc. dō " "
Ud. do " "
Ulc. dō " "
Orok. dō " "
Nan. dō " "

Mo. dotur "the internal or inner part of a thing; interior, inside; lining (as of a garment); entrails, viscera..."

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 687/

doholon "lame"

Evenk. dokolok, dokolōn	
Sol. doxolō̃	Ud. dōlo
Ev. doklān, duklān	Ulc. dowli
Neg. doxolok	Orok. ǰolo, ǰōloj
Oroc. dōloki	Nan. doxolo

Mo. doγulang, doγulung "lame, limping"

Khalkha доголон(г)

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; there is little evidence to support a loan theory but the presence of Mo. doγula-, doγul- "to be lame" seems to indicate greater strength in Mongol for this form.) /S 698/

doksin "cruel, violent, fierce, wild, bad-tempered (of livestock)"

Mo. doγsin "wild, ferocious; ruthless, violent, tempestuous, raging; terrible; severe, austere"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 698/

dolcin "waves"

Evenk. dolgin

Mo. dolgiya(n) "wave, billow"

Khalkha долгио

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; a morpheme change has taken place internally in Ma. after borrowing.) /SSTM I, 214/

dombi "to alight (of birds and insects)"

Mo. douγur, doγuγur, doγuur "low[er], under"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 211/

dongmo "a round pot for holding milked tea"

Mo. dombu(n), domu, dongmu "jug, tea pot; jug-shaped, oblong"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1861/

donjimbi "to listen, to hear" J. dondigu "to hear"

Evenk. dōldī- "to hear"
dōlčāt- "to listen"
Sol. dōldi- "to hear"
Ev. doldᵽ- "to hear"
dolči- "to listen"
Neg. dōldī- "to hear"
Oroc. dōgdī- "to hear"
dōkčī- "to listen"
Ud. dogdi- "to hear"
Ulc. dōldi-, dōldu- "to hear"
Orok. dōlǰi- "to hear"
Nan. dōlǰi- "to hear"

Mo. duγul- "to hear, listen"

(The strength of this form in Tu. and its isolation in Mo. (where the standard word is sonus- "to hear, listen") indicates a rare Tu. → Mo. loan; however, the suffix forms on a stem of *dōl- in Tungus are not well explicated, and only the reconstructed stem could be the donor form. Thus, while I consider this to be a Tu. loan into Mo., it remains problematic.) /S 698/

doran "a row of armored scales (on a suit of armor)"

Evenk. daran "alongside, by, near"
Ev. darān "row, rank"
Neg. dajan "side by side, alongside"
Ulc. darin-darin "side by side"
Orok. daram-daram "alongside, near"
Nan. darî-darî "alongside"

Mo. daraγ-a "next, following, successive [ly]; after [wards], later"

(Problematic both semantically and phonetically.) /SSTM I, 199/

dorgon "badger (Meles meles, Arctonyx collaris)"

Evenk. dorokon
Neg. doxo
Oroc. dogo
Ulc. doro(n)
Nan. doro

Mo. doruγu(n), dorγu "badger"

Khalkha дорго

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis; the other Tu. forms with the exception of the Evenk. appear to be older correspondences.) /S 698/

doro "doctrine, precept, morality, Tao, way, rule, rite, ritual" J. doron "seal, imperial signet"

Oroc. doro(n)
Ulc. doro(n)
Orok. doro(n)
Nan. dorõ

Mo. törü "a) law (national, traditional, or established); power; order, regime; rule, government, state"
MMo. törü, töre, dörö

(First proposed by HCG p.5. If borrowed this would fit the pattern of early Mo. → STu. and would be ultimately a Tü. loan into Mo., cf. ED 531 törü: "law". Schmidt 1932 p.623 suggests the Ma. is an alteration of Chinese tao-erh 道兒 which is untenable as no such compound in Chinese is attested. Doerfer TMEN #134 accepts the notion of a Chinese etymology but prudently refrains from specifics other than suggesting that the Ma. is somehow derived from tao 道. Insofar as the standard loan correspondence for Mo. -ö- is Ma. -u-, it is clear that there was contamination from the Chinese form.)

dudu "eastern turtledove (Streptopelia orientalis)"

Nan. dudu "cuckoo"

Mo. dongγud- "to make a sound; to cry, sing, chatter, cuckoo (of birds); to blame, rebuke, reprimand, scold, bawl out"

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds; both the Mo. and the Ma. are onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I, 219/

duin "four" J. duwin "four"

Evenk. dig̈in	Ud. dī
Sol. digī	Ulc. dui(n)
Ev. dig̈n	Orok. ǰīn
Oroc. dī	Nan. duī
Neg. dig̈in	

Mo. dörbe(n) "four"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 110/

dulduri "a pilgrim's staff with nine rings around it"
(Hauer lists <u>duldai</u> as obsol. form)

Mo. duldui "stick, staff, pilgrim's staff, mendicant's staff; a stick or cane with rings, also used in religious ceremonies"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the morpheme addition in Ma. took place after borrowing.) /SSTM I, 223/

dulembi "to burn"

Mo. tüle-, tüli- "to kindle a fire; to set on fire; to burn, scorch; to heat (as stove)"

(Proposed by Sinor 1963 p.142; recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

dulin "half, middle" J. dulila "central"

Evenk. dulin	Oroc. dulin
Sol. dulī	Ulc. dulin
Ev. dulɒkɒn	Nan. doli
Neg. dolinin	

Mo. düli "half, middle; middle of the day or night, noon, midnight; middling, mediocre, average; halfway, partly"
<u>note also</u> Mo. duli "middling, mediocre, average"

(Pre-loan correspondence; it is interesting to note that in Mo. the more common word for middle is <u>dumda</u> "middle, center, half..." and this word too is surely

in the same etymon group.) /SSTM I, 223/

duna "chalcedony"

Mo. dung "big sea shell; shell; wind instrument made of a shell"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I, 224/

dunen "a four-year-old ox"

Sol. dönõ

Mo. dön-e(n) "four-year-old male animal (bull, camel, or elephant); four-year-old male child (obs.)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; cf. deone listed separately.) /SSTM I, 215/

durbe "a dog with two spots on its forehead"

Mo. dörbe(n) "four"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis.) /SSTM I, 215/

durbejen "square, four-cornered; corner, angle"

Mo. dörbelǰi(n) "square, rectangle; cube; square block, dice...square, rectangular, cubic"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis.) /SSTM I, 215/

durdun "crepe"

Mo. durdung, durdum "crepe (fabric), silk"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /K 1896/

durgiya "the morning star" (Hauer has duwargiya as obsol. form)

Mo. dorun-a "east, orient; eastern, oriental"

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I, 218/

durimbi "to seize, to rob"

Nan. duri-

Mo. degeremde- "to rob, pillage, plunder"

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I, 225/

dursun "likeness, form, shape, model, pattern, appearance"

Mo. dürsü(n) "form, shape; figure; countenance, appearance; pattern, model; picture, representation, portrait, statue"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 226/

durun "form, shape, figure; model, mold; rule, norm"

Evenk. durun	Ud. dū(n)
Sol. durū	Ulc. duru(n)
Neg. dujin, dujun	Orok. duru(n)
Oroc. dū(n)	Nan. durū

Mo. düri "shape, form, outline, figure; complexion, appearance, expression of the face; view, look; symptom"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /HCG 4/

dute "on the inside, inner"

Mo. dötе, dötü "near, close, short, straight; abbreviated, abridged"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 698/

e "an exclamation used to call someone's attention, an exclamation of surprise or exasperation"

Evenk. e, ē "well!"

Mo. e "interj.: oh!"

(Like a (listed separately) this type of single-sound interjection is of no value as a correspondence between two specific languages. Due to its universality it is a phenomenon better left to glottogonists for study.) /SSTM II, 432/

ebderembi "to harm, to destroy, to ruin"

Mo. ebdere- "to break down, fall to pieces; to fall down, decline, deteriorate; to be wrecked"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 621/

ebderi "weak, deficient, inadequate, inferior"

Evenk. ebejekin "scarcely, barely"
Oroc. ebele "weak"
Ulc. ebele "clumsy"
Orok. ebele "sluggish"

Mo. ebersil "pain, torment, sudden attack or fit of illness..."

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 436/

ecike, eshen "father's younger brother -- uncle"

Evenk. etirkēn, etirin "old man"
Sol. etikkẽ, etxẽ "old man"
Ev. etiken "old man"
Neg. etixen " "
Ud. ekče "second cousin"
Nan. ekče, eče, ečeke "uncle"

Mo. ečige "father"

Khalkha эцэг

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 622/

eden "a scrap of cloth"

Evenk. et "goods, merchandise"
Sol. ede "things, objects"

Mo. ed "things, objects, property...textile, woven fabric; merchandise..."

(The NTu. forms are borrowed through another route; the Ma. is probably a recent borrowing from Mo. on pattern basis despite the semantic change.)

edeng "a sawfish (Pristis pectinatus)"

Mo. edeng "a kind of fish; sawfish; sea-beaver, sea-otter, Enhydra marina"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 289/

efu "the husband of one's elder sister; wife's elder brother; the husband of wife's elder sister"

Neg. apo, opo, epo "grandfather; uncle"
Oroc. epere "father-in-law; elder brother of wife"
Orok. ēpi, eppe (as form of address:) "grandfather; father of husband"

Mo. ebügen "old man; old (of men)"

Khalkha өвгөн

(The correspondence is noteworthy but, as Schütz points out, terms for relatives have often a similarity arising from glottogonic considerations. Problematic.) /PVG 103/

efu "husband of an imperial princess"

Mo. efu "son-in-law of an emperor or king"

(SSTM failed to list this correspondence; it is a rare Ma. → Mo. loan of recent origin. May be connected etymologically with Ma. efu listed separately.)

efulembi "to destroy, to ruin, to break"

Evenk. ew- "to break"
Sol. erde- " "
Nan. xepuli- "to destroy"

Mo. ebde- "to destroy (concrete or abstract objects), break, wreck, ruin, annihilate; to break up, rescind (as a resolution or agreement); to violate..."

(Certainly not a borrowing, yet the form only exists in Ma. and Nan. (the Evenk. and Sol. forms are borrowings from Mo.) and so unlikely to be of Tungus origin. Remains problematic.) /SSTM II, 434/

eguletu alha "a horse with cloudlike markings"

Mo. egületü, egületei "clouded, cloudy, having clouds; cloud-patterned"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the Ma. appears to be a borrowing from Written Mongol of an unattested form egületü alaγ which would mean literally "cloudlike speckled".) /SSTM II, 437/

eihen "donkey, ass" J. eihen "ass"

Sol. elǰig
Neg. ejxe
Nan. ejxe

Mo. elǰige(n) "donkey, ass"

(Problematic due to phonology. Poppe 1960 p.140 explains the Ma. form as eihen < *el'ken < *elǰiken. Note Ma. aisin for similar phonology.) /PVG 140/

ejen "ruler, lord, master, host, emperor" J. eǰenni niyarma "master"

Evenk. eǰen
edī "husband"
Sol. edĩ, ejĩ
Ev. edi "husband"
Neg. edī "husband"
eǰen
Oroc. eǰe(n)
edi "husband"
Ud. eǰe(n)
Ulc. eǰe(n)
edi(n) "husband"
Orok. ede(n)
edi "husband"
Nan. eǰen
eǰẽ "husband"

Mo. eǰen "lord, master, ruler, owner"

(The Manchu form and those Tu. forms with the same meaning are ancient Mo. → Tu.; the Tu. word for "husband" (Common Tungus *edī) seems to be a preloan correspondence, for which Doerfer TMEN #636 suggests a glottogonic origin.) /HCG 3/

ejihe "a food made from dried cream"

Mo. egeǰegei, eǰegei "curds; cottage cheese"
Khalkha ээзгий

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 439/

ekcin "bank (of a river)"

Mo. egčim "steepness, steep slope; steep, craggy; straight"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.)

elbihe "raccoon-dog (Nyctereutes procyonoides)"

Evenk. elbiǧe "raccoon"

Mo. elbengkü "raccoon"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with subsequent morpheme change in Ma.) /SSTM II, 445/

elcin "emissary, messenger"

Evenk. ilǰit

Mo. elči(n) "messenger, courier; envoy, ambassador; apostle, missionary"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 3/

elembi "to suffice, to be enough"

Evenk. elē-
Neg. ele- "to be satisfied"
Ud. ele- "to complete, finish"
Ulc. ele- "to be satisfied"
Orok. ele- "
Nan. ele- "

Mo. ǒl "food, provision; nutritiousness; nourishment; hunger"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 449/

elgiyen "prosperous, rich, plentiful, abundant" (Hauer lists elgin as obsol. form)

Sol. elpeg beje "thrifty"
Oroc. eggi "in abundance"
Ulc. ergi(n) "plentiful"
Nan. elgĩ "plenty; abundance"

Mo. elbeg "abundance; abundant, plentiful, rich; rather large or loose (of clothes)"

(Correspondence is problematic; the direction of loan is unclear and the relationship of the Tu. forms to the verb forms associated with elembi (see above) is uncertain.) /S 622/

elhe "peace, calm, well-being; peaceful, well, healthy, easy, slow"

Evenk. elke "carefully, quietly"
Neg. elke "slowly, quietly"
Oroc. ekke " "
Ud. eke " "
Ulc. erke " "
Orok. erke "quiet"
Nan. elke "slow, quiet"

Mo. engke "peace, tranquility, quietude; happiness, prosperity; peaceful, peaceable"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. el "accord, harmony, peace". The exact donor form from Mo. is, however, problematic.) /SSTM II, 448/

eme "mother"

Sol. emó
Nan. eme

Mo. em-e "woman, wife; female"

(Dismissable; the similarity is attributable to glottogonic origin for both forms.) /S 622/

emeke "husband's mother -- mother-in-law"
also Ma. emhe "wife's mother -- mother-in-law"

Nan. eŋre "mother-in-law"

Mo. emegen "old woman, old wife"

(Dismissable on etymon basis, each form has its derivation in the words listed above, cf. eme.) /SSTM II, 452/

emekei "how frightful!"

Mo. emiye- "to fear, be afraid; to be shy or to feel embarrassed"

(Dismissable on structural grounds.) /SSTM II, 452-453/

elmin "an unbroken horse" (Hauer has elmiyen as obsol. form)

Mo. elemeg "wild, untrained; not broken in (horse)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 450/

endembi "to err, be mistaken about; euphemism for 'to die'"

Evenk. ende-	Ulc. ēnde-
Neg. ēnde-	Orok. ende-
Oroc. ende-	Nan. ēnde-
Ud. ēnde-	(all with meaning "to err")

Mo. ende- "to err, fall into error, be mistaken, blunder; to go astray; to die"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; note that Mo. has a doublet form anda- with the same meaning.) /S 621/

enduri "spirit, god, deity"

Sol. endur	Ulc. enduri
Neg. enduri	Nan. enduri, endur
Oroc. enduri	

Mo. öndür "high, tall; height"

(The form in Tu. is a recent one, and therefore a borrowing, based on the phonology of the forms (cf. Tsintsius 1949 p.245). But the semantic change between the Tu. and the Mo. makes this problematic as a borrowing from Mo.) /S 621/

enetkek "India, the valley of the Ganges, Indian, Sanskrit"

Mo. enedkeg "India"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis for Buddhist terminology.) /SSTM II, 455/

enggemu "saddle" J. engemer "saddle"

Evenk. emeǵen
Sol. emegēl
Ev. emgun
Orok. emē(n), emeǵe(n)

Mo. emegel "saddle"

(Early loan Mo. → STu.; the NTu. and Orok. forms reflect a later borrowing.) /PVG 68/

erde "early, early in the morning" J. erte "early"

Evenk. erde, erte
Sol. egde, edde, erde
Ev. erde
Nan. erde

Mo. erte(n) "early time; early, earlier, long ago; former, ancient"

(Early Mo. → Ma./Jurchen on pattern basis.) /HCG 4/

erdemu "capability, virtue, power"

Evenk. erdemiči "capable, skillful"
Oroc. egde "trick"
Ud. egde "method, means"
Ulc. elde(n) "method, means"
Orok. eddenge "talented, gifted"
Nan. erdẽ "means, method, trick"

Mo. erdem "knowledge, learning; science; skill, art, ability; wisdom; virtue; merit; good quality"

(Mo. → STu. at an early period; the Evenk. form is a later borrowing. Note also TÜ. (ED 206) erdem "manly qualities; goodness, virtue, good qualities".) /HCG 5/

ere "this" J. ese "these"

Evenk. er
Sol. er, eri
Ev. erek
Neg. ej
Oroc. ei
Ud. eji
Ulc. ej
Orok. er, eri
Nan. ej

Mo. ene "demonstr. pronoun. this; he, she (referring to a person near to the speaker), it"

(The Tu. form is from a root *e which is very strong in Tu.; the above cited words being only part of the reflexes. This is surely a pre-loan correspondence.) /R 66/

erembi "to hope"

Evenk. eren-
Ev. eren-

Mo. eremsi- "to hope, rely upon; to take courage; to give oneself airs"

Khalkha ɜɜpəx "to seek, search, look for"

(Should be a recent loan Mo. → Ma. but the absence of an attested Mo. donor form makes this correspondence problematic.) /SSTM II, 467/

ergi "direction, side; this side"

Ud. ē "side"

Mo. ergi "steep bank; steep precipice or slope"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds, the Ma. and Ud. forms have an abstract meaning of "side" as direction rather than the concrete meaning which would allow a connection with the Mo.) /S 622/

erguwembi "to go around, to circle"

Evenk. ergekte-
Ev. ergin-

Mo. ergi- "a) to turn or move around, revolve; to circumambulate...b) to surround, encompass, encircle c) to return, turn back d) to visit regularly or repeatedly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 463/

erke "powerful, strong, bold"

Mo. erke "a) right, privilege; power, authority b) self-willed, willed, willful, wayward, capricious; spoiled (of children); willfulness, waywardness, capriciousness"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; cf. erki below.) /S 622/

erki "willful, self-willed, despotic"

Mo. erke "a)right, privilege; power, authority b) self-willed, willed, willful..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the exact relationship of the Ma. doublets erke and erki is not clear, though erki may be the later borrowing due to the exact match with Mo. semantics.) /SSTM II, 465/

ersun "ugly, repulsive"

Mo. eresü, ersü "of both sexes, hermaphrodite; of both genders, neuter"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 465/

erun "torture, punishment"

Evenk. erū "bad, harmful"
Sol. erū "bad"
Nan. erũ "torture"

Mo. eregüü "torture, torment, chastisement, capital punishment"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /R 56/

eruwen "drill, auger"

Ev. erehe

Mo. ɗrüm "auger, drill, gimlet"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis but the phonetic representation indicates an earlier period, possibly

the Mongol form should be reconstructed as *erum with later rounding of the initial. Problematic.) /SSTM II, 467/

esihe "scale (of a fish)"

Evenk. ekihe
Sol. exitči
Ev. ekɔs
Neg. ekse
Oroc. kesikte
Ulc. keste
Orok. xesikte
Nan. xesikte

Mo. qayirsu(n), qayirasu(n) "scales (as of fishes and reptiles)"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 443/

eyun "elder sister; elder (of girls)" J. eyun "elder sister"

Evenk. ekīn "older sister; aunt"
Sol. exĭ "older sister; elder"
Ev. ekən "older sister; aunt; mother; elder"
Neg. exīn "older sister; aunt"
Orok. eki "older sister"
Ud. exi "sister; aunt"
Ulc. ege, ejke "older sister"
Orok. ege, ejge, ejke, eje "sister; brother and sister; aunt"
Nan. ejke "older sister"

Mo. eke "a) mother, maternal, native b) beginning, source...c) principal, chief"

(Like Ma. eme and emeke, such forms may well be glottogonic in origin, and at any rate should not be treated as correspondences in this case due to semantic dissimilarity. Dismissable.) /SSTM II, 443/

fafun "law, decree, prohibition"

Sol. fafu "law"
Oroc. papula- "to forbid"
Ulc. pāpu(n) "prohibition"
Nan. papo, papu "strictness, obedience"

Mo. baγ-a, ba "fine, penalty"

(Proposed by Pelliot 1925, p.257; separately borrowed Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.(STu.). Lessing p.67 suggests Chinese fa 罰 as the donor of the Mo. form, while fa 法 is the likeliest source for the Ma.)

faisha "palisade"

Mo. qayisang "barrier, rampart, parapet"

(Dismissable on phonetic basis.) /SSTM II, 297/

fajan "feces (of animals and birds), dung"

Mo. arγal, arγasu(n) "argal, dry dung of animals used as fuel"

(Early Mo. → Ma.; though the pattern suggests a recent loan, the phonology of *-rg- > -ǰ- in Ma. indicates an early period of loan.) /R 185/

faksi "craftsman, workman; skilled; clever, shrewd"
J. faši niyarma "carpenter" Sibe 1844 fahəsi, faqəsi "skillful, craftsman"

Neg. pakčin
Oroc. pakči "skilled"
Ud. paki " "
Ulc. pakči " "
Orok. pakči
Nan. paksi

Mo. baγsi "teacher, instructor, professor, learned lama; master, mister"

(Sinor 1981 believes this to be Chinese → Tu. → Mo. → Ma.; the Chinese 博士 po-shih < *bak-si "Doctor" (e.g. of law, medicine, philosophy, cf. Mathews #5776) is surely the donor form for the Turkic (ED 321) bagsi: and from there it was certainly borrowed into Mongol. But the Ma. (and STu.) forms exhibit phonological as well as semantic discrepancies which cast doubt on the loan theory. Doerfer TMEN #724 feels that the ultimate donor form is Chinese but for the Ma. sees a route Chinese → Korean → Manchu. Neither Sinor nor Doerfer are troubled by discrepancy between the Ma. and Tu. meaning of "artisan, craftsman, skilled (worker)" and the original and extended sense of the Chinese: "doctor, scholar, religious teacher". But this discrepancy, plus the phonetic shape of the STu. forms, where -č- corresponds to the expected -s-, casts doubt on the correspondence. I do not believe that the ultimate source for the Ma. and STu. forms is Chinese 博士 and so the correspondence to Mo. baγsi is in doubt. As I do not find, however, a more

convincing etymology, I classify this presently as problematic. Note Ma. baksi listed separately, which is undoubtably a loan from Mongol.) /R 184/

falanggû "the palm of the hand"

Evenk. halgan "foot, hoof"
Sol. algã̆
Ev. halǧan
Neg. halgan
Oroc. xaga
Ud. xaga
Ulc. palǰa(n)
Orok. palǰa(n)
Nan. palgã̆

Mo. alaγ-a(n) "palm (of the hand)"
MMo. halaqan

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /RASL 3/

falasu "enamel, enamelware"

Mo. palang "enamel, cloisonne work"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; the source is Chinese fa-lang 琺瑯 with later morpheme addition in Ma., cf. Hauer p.272.) /SSTM II, 298/

falga "clan, tribe; all the people living on one street, quarter of a town; office, bureau; group, clump, grove; measure word for buildings" (Hauer lists falha as obsol. form)

Mo. balγasu(n) "city, town; ruins, site of an ancient town"

(Sinor 1981 uses this correspondence to support his argument concerning Ma. faksi (above). But the semantics remain problematic, cf. TMEN #712.) /HCG 3/

fangse "pongee, a light raw silk"

Mo. pangsa "type of Chinese silk"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.) /SSTM II, 299/

fanse "trader" (Hauer lists fanze as obsol. form)

Mo. pangǰači(n) "traveling merchant, peddler"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese fan-tzŭ 販仔 .) /SSTM II, 298/

fara "an ox-drawn sleigh used for carrying hay or wood; horn strips on both sides of a grip; the edges or shafts of a wagon"

Evenk. hara "wedge in the middle of a bow"
Sol. aral "shaft"
pār "sledge"
Oroc. aral "shaft"
para "sled"
Ud. pala "sledge of the Russian type"
Ulc. para "sledge"
Orok. pawura, paura "runners of a cart, shaft of a bow; branch which is bow-shaped"
Nan. para "sledge"

Mo. aral "shaft, thill"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /RASL 3/

farambi "to spread freshly harvested grain out to dry"

Mo. araγalda- "to stand in line, line up"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM II, 299/

farambi "to faint, to lose consciousness"

Evenk. harū- "to be dizzy"
Ev. hāru- "to be dizzy; to lose consciousness"
Ud. xaune- "to be dizzy"
Nan. farinda- "to lose consciousness; for the eyes to go around"

Mo. ———————
MMo. (Lewicki p.50) härü- "to be afflicted"

(SSTM II, 318 cites a MMo. form hari- "to lose strength" which is unattested; the closest form to be found is that which I give above; problematic.)

farhûn "dark, obscure, unclear, confused, muddled"

Mo. barɵi, bɵrɵi "dark, dimly, indistictly, rather obscurely"

(Problematic, possibly onomat. in origin.) /PMH 216/

fatha "hoof, foot (of fowl), claw"

Evenk. hata
Ev. hatika
Neg. xata
Ud. pataga, pataxe
Nan. fatxa

Mo. adqu "hollow of the hand; handful"
MMo. xatququ-, atqu- "to take a handful"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 11/

fehi "brain, brains; memory"

Mo. eki(n) "beginning, commencement; fountain, source; origin; cause; yeast; original, draft"
MMo. ekin, heki "source"

(Poppe 1960 p.56 places the Ma. form together with Nan. pejé "forehead" and sees the entire correspondence as "Altaic". Despite the Nan. and some additional forms not listed by Poppe (e.g. Evenk. heje, Neg. xējē, Ud. xeje, Ulc. pēje "forehead") the semantic correspondence is not clear. Remains problematic.) /RASL 3/

fekcehun "astringent, puckery (like the taste of an unripe persimmon)"

Mo. ekegɵn "tart, sour, astringent taste of unripe fruits, etc.; strong (as of tea); caustic (chem.)"

Khalkha ɘXYYH

(Despite the phonetic problems these forms are definitely related; cf. the derived forms, Ma. fekceku "a drug used for poisoning fish -- it is made from ...the walnut" and Mo. ekegɵdel "poisonous dough prepared from the bark and leaves of wild walnut used as bait for fishing". Early Mo. → Ma., the restored

MMo. form would be *heke'ü. The Ma. underwent morpheme change after the borrowing.) /SSTM II, 304/

fengse "pan, jug"

Neg. puŋseku
Ulc. peŋse
Nan. peŋseku

Mo. fengse "large bowl, washbasin"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.(and STu.); source is Chinese p'en-tzŭ 盆子 .) /K 1269/

ferhe "the thumb, the big toe" note also Ma. ferge "the back claw of a fowl"

Evenk. huruǧun
Sol. ergũ, ergẽ
Ev. hərəǧən
Neg. xəjeŋen
Oroc. xōŋo(n)
Ud. xue
Ulc. poro(n), puru(n)
Orok. poro(n), puru(n), pero(n)
Nan. perxe

Mo. erekei "thumb, big toe"
MMo. heregei

(Pre-loan correspondence, perhaps Altaic if Tü. (ED 234) erŋe:k "finger" is connected.) /RASL 4/

fesin "handle, stock, grip" (Hauer has fesen as obsol. form)

Evenk. hesin
Ev. hesən
Neg. xesin
Oroc. xesi(n)
Ud. xeʰi
Ulc. pesi(n)
Orok. pesi(n)
Nan. pesĩ

Mo. esi, isi "a) trunk of a tree, stem of a plant, stalk, slip, graft, shoot, scion; grip, handle b) foundation, basis; origin, source c) command, permission..."

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on semantic basis.) /RASL 4/

fik seme, fik fik seme "in profusion, thickly, heavily, closely"

Mo. iγču, iγči, niγču "thickness; thick, dense[ly] (of grass or trees); crowded"

(Dissmissable on structural and phonetic basis.) /SSTM II, 37/

fila "a plate" J. fila "dish"

Sol. ilā
Oroc. pilǣ
Ud. pilan
Ulc. pili(n)
Nan. pilia

Mo. pila"plate, dish"

Kahlkha пял

(Has the look of a Chinese loan but no donor form attested; problematic.) /K 1269/

fintaha "bag, satchel"

Evenk. hutakān
Sol. utxã̄
Ev. hutkan
Neg. xotakān
Oroc. xuta
Ud. xut'a
Ulc. puta(n)
Nan. pōtačã̄

Mo. uγuta, uuta "bag, sack"
MMo. hu'uta

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 356/

firumbi "to curse; to implore, to pray"

Evenk. hiruġē- "to invoke, foresee; to pray"
Sol. hirge- "to pray..."
Neg. xīġē- "to ask for blessings"

Mo. irüge- "to wish well, bless, pray; to felicitate; to propose a toast"

Khalkha ерөөх

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the NTu. forms are borrowings by a different route. The first meaning of the Manchu, "to curse" is problematic but appears to be a separate development.) /RASL 5/

fiyakiyan "burning hot, the sun's heat"

Evenk. heku, hekū "heat; hot"
Sol. exūgdi "hot"
Ev. hek "hot; heat"
Neg. xeku, xekugdi "hot"
Oroc. xeku, xekusi "hot"
Ud. xeku i "hot"
Ulc. peku "heat"
Orok. xekkuli, xekusi "hot"
Nan. peku "hot; heat"

Mo. ————
MMo. he'usiye- (sic!)

(SSTM cites the MMo. form as a correspondence but I am unable to find it in the standard works on MMo. lexicon. The meaning given is "to test with heat"; the closest MMo. form I find is he'usiye- "to be unsuited, to be unable to stand or endure" which at any rate would be dismissable as a correspondence.) /SSTM II, 362/

fodo "a willow branch used at shamanistic ceremonies"

Mo. uda "willow-tree"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; but cf. Ma. fodoho below. /PVG 52/

fodoho "willow"

Ulc. pučekte
Orok. potokto
Nan. fotoxa

Mo. uda "willow-tree"
MMo. (Haenisch p. 79) hutan

(Early Mo. → STu. on pattern basis, but the standard term in Mo. for willow is buryasu(n); this makes the position of Mo. as donor less certain.) /RASL 6/

foholon "short" J. foholo "short"

Evenk. hokopčo "sacrum"

Mo. oqur, aqur "short (not extended in time or space)"
MMo. hoqar, oqar

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.) on pattern basis.) /PMH 245/

folho "a small iron hammer"

Evenk. halka
Sol. alxa
Ev. halkə
Neg. xalka
Oroc. xalua, xaluwa
Ud. xaluga
Ulc. paluwa(n), paloa(n)
Orok. palo, paloa, paloga
Nan. paloa

Mo. aluq-a(n) "hammer, mallet"
MMo. haluqa

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on phonological basis.) /RASL 3/

fomoci "stockings, socks" (Hauer lists fomci as obsol. form)

Evenk. oimahun

Mo. oyimasu(n), oyimusu(n) "sock, stocking"
MMo. hoyimusu

(Problematic due to phonetic shape of the Ma.; the Evenk. form is clearly a recent borrowing from Mo.) /V 268/

fon "time, season" J. fondo "time"

Nan. fõ

Mo. on "calendar year"
MMo. hon

(Early Mo. → Ma. and Jurchen.) /S 702/

forombi "to spin; to turn, to turn around, to face, to turn toward"

Evenk. horol-
Ev. herelkin- "to turn, turn into"
Neg. xojil-, xojol-
Ud. xōli-
Ulc. xereli-
Orok. pojal "whirlpool"
Nan. pojõ " "

Mo. orči- "to turn around, revolve, rotate; to go through the cycle of transmigrations, transmigrate"
MMo. horči-

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /RASL 5/

foron (hauer) "curl of hair; swirl, whirl; the testing of the rotation of an arrow between the fingers"

Evenk. horon "crown, summit..."
Sol. orõ "mountain pass"
Neg. xojo, xojon "crown, top"
Oroc. xõ(n) " "
Ulc. poro(n) " "
Orok. poro(n) " "
Nan. porõ " "

Mo. orui [oroi] "summit, peak; crown of the head; top, roof"
MMo. horai

(The Ma. form is clearly a derviation from Ma. forombi (see above). The other Tu. forms are, however, borrowings from Mongol.) /RASL 5/

foson "sunlight, sun's rays, the glow of a fire"

Evenk. hõsin "spark"
Sol. oč "spark"
Neg. xosinčã "hot coal"
Ulc. posi "spark"
Orok. posin(n) "spark"
Nan. posĩ "spark"

Mo. oči(n) "spark"

(The semantic connection is here too strong for outright dismissal, but the phonetic discrepancies make this problematic.) /SSTM II, 335/

fudembi "to see off, to accompany; to accompany a trousseau; to give a gift on departure' J. futemei "to see off"

Evenk. ude-
Ulc. pudeči- "to drive away an evil spirit (said of a shaman)"
Nan. pude- " "

Mo. üde- "to see off, send off, bid farewell; to accompany a person to the point or place of parting"

(Early Mo. → STu.; the reconstructed MMo. would be *hüde-.) /RASL 7/

fujin "wife of a feudal lord, wife of a beile, lady"

Neg. puǰin "fair maiden"
Ud. puǰi "fair maiden"
Ulc. puǰi(n) "fair maiden"
Orok. puǰǰi, puǰi "fair maiden"
Nan. puǰi "fair maiden"

(the above Tu. forms found mostly in folktales)

Mo. ————————
MMo. ǖjin "lady, wife"

(May be separately borrowed Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; the STu. forms seem to have a different semantic development and may be a separate borrowing apart from the Ma. form. For a discussion of the correspondence cf. Pelliot 1925 pp. 258-261. The Chinese source is fu-jen 夫人 .) /RASL 7/

fuhu "wart" (Hauer has fugu as obsol. form.)

Evenk. heŋta
Ev. heŋtə
Neg. xente
Ulc. puktu, pukte
Orok. peukte
Nan. pūkte

Mo. egüü "wart, excrescence"

Khalkha ʏʏ
Dagur (Kałużyński pt. 1 p. 139) xe͡ut, xe͡ut'

(As there is no evidence for direction of loan, this is to be classed as a pre-loan correspondence.)/RASL7/

fujuri "foundation, basis, origin; hereditary"

Sol. ojōr

Mo. iǰaɣur "root, basis, foundation; origin, beginning; genesis, genealogy, descent, extraction; caste..."
MMo. hiǰa'ur, huǰa'ur

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /RASL 5/

fulacan, fulakcan "a bag for storing flint"

Evenk. hula "birch excrescence; tinder"
Ev. ula " "
Orok. puli "excrescence"

Mo. ula "tinder, punk"
MMo. hula (Poppe 1938 p. 438)

Khalkha уул

(Early Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 343/

fulahûn "pink, reddish" fulgiyan "red, purple"
J. fulagian "red

Evenk. hulama
Sol. ulā
Ev. hulan'a
Neg. xolajĭn
Oroc. xolomukta "wild grape"
Ud. xulaligi
Nan. folgæ

Mo. ulaγan "red; also used to qualify certain objects and phenomena which somehow serve to remind one of red color or complexion"
MMo. hula'an

Khalkha улаан

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 74/

fulehe "root" Sibe 2145 fuləxə "root"

Mo. uul "original, fundamental, radical, native; same; this very same, that very same; the aforementioned, the one in question"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 302/

fulehu "alms given to monks"

Evenk. hulgaptin
Ud. xula

Mo. ergül "donation, present, gift, sacrifice, offering; respect, reverence; petition, gift"
Note also Mo. ɵrgül "elevation"

(Dismissable on phonetic basis.) /SSTM II, 344/

fulenggi "ashes" J. fulegi "ashes"

Evenk. huleptēn
Sol. uluktẽ
Ev. hultēn
Neg. xulēptēn
Oroc. xulepte
Ud. xulept
Ulc. punekte(n)
Orok. punekte(n)
Nan. pun'ektẽ

Mo. ündesü(n) "ash, ashes"
MMo. hündesü

(Problematic phonologically.) /S 702/

fulgiyembi "to blow"

Evenk. huw-	Ud. punde-
Sol. ūgū-	Ulc. pū-
Ev. hū-	Orok. pū-
Neg. xūw-, pūw-	Nan. pū-
Oroc. xū-, pū-	

Mo. üliye- "to blow; to inflate; to play a wind instrument; to boast"
MMo. hüliye-

(The phonetic shape of the Manchu form indicates a close connection with the Mo.; the other Tu. forms are pre-loan correspondences. The age of the presumed loan Mo. → Ma. is problematic, there may have been contamination by an earlier pre-loan correspondence in Manchu which has fallen together with the current form.) /RASL 7/

fulha "poplar"

Evenk. hula	Oroc. xulu
Sol. ulu	Ulc. pulu
Ev. hul	Orok. pulu
Neg. xol	Nan. polo

Mo. uliyasu(n) "poplar, aspen"

(Poppe 1974 p. 130 reconstructs a MMo. *huliyasun. I find the correspondence acceptable, it is pre-loan in category.) /S 702/

fulu "surplus, excess, left over, extra; excelling, surpassing, better..."

Evenk. heleke
Sol. ulex
Ev. hulək
Neg. xulexe
Oroc. xule
Ud. xule
Ulc. pule
Orok. pule, pulęge
Nan. pulē

Mo. ilegüü, ilegü, ülegüü "much, too much or many, more, more than needed, expected, or necessary, superfluous, exceeding, remaining; better, excellent, outstanding; profit, gain, advantage, excess, surplus"
MMo. hüle'ün

(Strongly developed in both Mo. and Tu., a pre-loan correspondence.) /RASL 7/

fumerembi "to mix up, to confuse, to stir together; to fight in a confused manner"

Mo. üime- "to become disturbed; to bustle; to be excited"

(Correspondence problematic on phonetic basis. Poppe 1960 p. 12 sees an Altaic correspondence with a reconstructed Manchu form *füjmere- for which there is no evidence other than the Mo. form.) /PVG 12/

fun "fragrant odor"

Evenk. hun'ŋukte- "to sniff, smell"
Sol. ũ "odor"
Ev. hĩnemsi "odor"
Neg. xun "odor"
xumul- "to give off an odor"
Oroc. xũn "odor"
xumpe- "to sniff, smell"
Ud. xu(n) "odor"
Ulc. pū(n) "odor"
pumbu- "to give off an odor"
Orok. pū(n) "odor"
Nan. pũ
pũmbi- "to give off an odor"

Mo. ünür "odor, smell, fragrance, aroma"
MMo. hunir

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM II, 349/

funggaha "feather, down"

Mo. ungγasu(n), ungγusu(n) "wool"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic basis.) /SSTM II,303/

funiyehe "hair, fur, nap" J. funirhei "hair of the head"

Mo. ünege(n) "fox

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /S 702/

furdan "pass, gateway; eye of a needle"

Mo. örtege(n), örtüge(n) "relay system with stages about 20 miles apart ("urton"); postal relay station..."

(Proposed by Kotwicz p. 336; I feel this is dismissable on semantic grounds.)

furdehe "pelt, fur, fur jacket"

Nan. furde, ferde

Mo. ürdesü(n), ürtesü(n) "particle, grain; scrap, rag, shred, chips, sawdust;

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /PVG 87/

fursun "shoots, sprouts (especially of a grain)"

Sol. ure "child"

Mo. ür-e "seed, grain, fruit; result, product, offspring, posterity, descendant(s)"
MMo. hüre

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the Sol. is of course a borrowing by a different route.) /RASL 8/

furumbi "to slice, to grate, to cut into fine pieces"

Evenk. huru-
Ev. hurun-
Neg. puju-
Ulc. pori- "to pound"
Nan. purtu "chips, crumbs"

Mo. ürü- "to rub; to grate, to file; to strike a match"

MMo. hürü(kü), hür(kü) "to grind, to sharpen"

(Early loan Mo. → STu.) /PVG 111/

fusembi "to propagate, to reproduce, to breed"

Ulc. puse- "to grow profusely"

Mo. üreǰi- "to multiply, propagate; to breed"

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM II, 358/

fusumbi "to sprinkle (water)"

Evenk. husu-
Ev. hus-
Neg. xusi-

Mo. üsür- "to jump, leap, skip; to spout, squirt out"

(Problematic.) /R 209/

futa "rope, line, string"

Evenk. utahun

Mo. utasu(n) "thread, line; electric wire or cable..."
MMo. hutasun

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the Evenk. is a borrowing by another route.) /RASL 6/

fuyembi "to come to a boil, to boil"

Evenk. huju-
Sol. uju-
Ev. huj-
Neg. xuj-
Oroc. xuisi-
Ud. xui-
Ulc. pujsi-
Orok. puj-, pujsi-
Nan. pujsi-

Mo. oyil- [uyil-] "to whirl or swirl upwards; to gush forth (of liquids)"
MMo. hüyil-

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM II, 338/

gaba "three iron backpieces affixed to the épaulière on a suit of armor"

Mo. ɣaba "manacles, handcuffs"

"Problematic due to semantic discrepancy.) /SSTM I, 134/

gabsihiyan "quick, clever, alert; vanguard" (Hauer has gabsiyan as obsol. form)

Mo. ɣabsiɣai "swift, expeditious; valiant; vanguard; shock (worker, troops)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 134/

gabtambi "to shoot an arrow; to shine, to radiate"

Evenk. garpa-
Sol. garpa-, gappa- "to shoot"
Ev. garpu-
Neg. gatpa-
Oroc. gappa-
Ud. gakpa-
Ulc. garpa- "to shoot from a bow"
Orok. galpa-, garpa-
Nan. garpa-

Mo. qarbu- "to shoot (an arrow or firearms)"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 679/

gacilambi "to injure, to harm; to deprive"

Mo. ɣačiɣda- "to be or get into difficulties; to be subject to pressure; to need"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon grounds, cf. Mo. ɣaciɣ "need, poverty, misery; calamity, misfortune, disaster".) /SSTM I, 144/

gaha "crow, raven, rook, jackdaw, general name of birds of the genus Corvus" J. gaha "crow"

Evenk. gāki
Neg. gāxi
Oroc. gāki
Ud. g'ai
Ulc. gāi
Oroc. gaǧi, gai
Nan. gāki

Mo. γaγaγla- "to quack, croak, caw, cackle, cluck"

(Dismissable as a correspondence, both the Mo. and Tu. are onomat. in origin and independent of each other.) /SSTM I, 137/

gahûmbi "to jut forward, to curve forward to the front"

Mo. γaγuyi- "to lean forward, project, be prominent (physically, as the neck of a camel)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 137/

gai "impediment, obstacle"

Mo. γai "misfortune, bad luck; misery, distress, harm; calamity, disaster, trouble"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 136/

gaihamsitu "wonderful, marvelous"

Mo. γayiqamsiγtai, γayiqamsiγtu "marvelous, wonderful, remarkable; miraculous, supernatural; extraordinary, surprising"

(SSTM missed this correspondence. Recent Mo. → Ma.)

gaikambi "to broadcast, to spread abroad, to praise"

Evenk. gajka- "to be surprised"
Sol. gajxa- " "

Mo. γayiqa- "to wonder, marvel; to be amazed, astonished, or surprised; to be perplexed, be at a loss"

(Problematic due to semantics. The Evenk. and Sol. forms are of course borrowings from Mo.) /SSTM I, 136/

gajarci "a guide" (Hauer lists gajaraci and gajiraci as obsol.)

Mo. γaǰarči "guide, conductor"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. γaǰar "earth, land, terrain".) /S 679/

gakda "single, sole; crippled in one leg; blind in one eye"

Evenk. gagda	Ud. gagda
Ev. gād	Ulc. gaksi
Neg. gagda	Orok. gaksa
Oroc. gagda	Nan. gaksia

Mo. ɣaɣča, ɣanča "alone, all alone, single, unique; the only one; solely"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM I, 135/

gala "1. hand, arm 2. one of the sides of the encirclement in a battue"

Evenk. ŋāle "hand, arm"
Sol. nāla, nāli "hand, arm"
Ev. ŋāl "hand, arm"
Neg. ŋāla, ŋala "hand, arm"
Oroc. ŋāla, ŋala "hand, arm"
Ud. ŋala "hand, arm"
Ulc. nala "hand, arm"
Orok. ŋāla "hand, arm"
Nan. ŋāla "hand, arm"

Mo. ɣar "hand, arm; side (right or left); flank, wing (of an army)"

(Pre-loan correspondence. Note also <u>gargan</u> listed separately.) /HCC 4/

ganjuhan "thongs attached to a saddle for carrying gear, saddle rigging" (Hauer lists <u>ganjurga</u> as obsol. form)

Mo. ɣanǰuɣ-a(n) "thongs attached to a saddle for tying an object"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 139/

gargan "branch; the earth's branches; single, odd; branch of a river; leaf of a door; comrade, friend" J. gar "branch"

Evenk. gara "branch"
Sol. gar, gara "branch"
Ev. gar "branch"
Neg. gaja "branch"
Oroc. gā "branch"
Ud. gā " "
Ulc. gara " "
Orok. gara" "
Nan. gara " "

Mo. γar "hand, arm; side (right or left); flank, wing (of an army)"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM I, 141/

gargitai "single and alone"

Mo. γarγaγu "extraordinary, unusual"

(Dismissable on phonetic and etymon grounds.) /SSTM I, 141/

garjambi "to split (v.i.), to break (v.i.)" (Hauer lists karjambi as obsol. form)

Mo. qarǰigina- "to make a crackling, chattering, or grinding noise"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 381/

garjihûn "a large fierce dog"

Mo. γarǰi noqai "large ferocious dog" note Mo. noqai "dog"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with subsequent morpheme change in Ma.; Hauer p. 336 explains the Ma. as: garjire + indahûn. Hauer is correct in regard to the latter part of this hybrid word (note Ma. indahûn "dog") but the first part, a participle form from Ma. garjambi "to split, to break" is not tenable. The etymology of Mo. γarǰi is unclear but the direction of loan is Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

garma "a four-pointed arrow used for shooting small game"

Mo. qarbu- "to shoot (an arrow or firearms)"

(Dismissable on structural basis.) /SSTM I, 142/

garsa "precocious, smart, intelligent, dexterous"

Mo. γasan "too clever for one's age, precocious (of children)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 142/

garša "a monk's habit" (Hauer lists k'arsi as obsol. form)

Mo. ɣarša "a kind of cloak worn by priests at services"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; ultimately from Sanskrit kāṣāya.) /SSTM I, 142/

garudai "phoenix (male)"

Mo. garudi, ɣarudi "Garuda, the king of birds in Indian mythology"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Sanskrit garuḍa.) /SSTM I, 142/

gasambi "to complain, to hold a grudge; to grieve, to lament"

Sol. gaslā-	Ulc. gasa-
Neg. gasa-	Orok. gassa-
Oroc. gasa-	Nan. gasa-

Mo. ɣasal- "to be sorrowful or afflicted; to regret, grieve, lament; to whine, yelp (of dogs)"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 679/

gašan "village, country (as opposed to the city)" J. gaša "village"

Neg. gasin
Oroc. gasa
Ulc. gasa(n)
Orok. gasa, gassa
Nan. gasã

Mo. ɣačaɣ-a(n) "hamlet, village"

Khalkha raŋaa

(Problematic, the direction of loan is unclear.)/SSTM I, 143/

gejihešembi "to tickle under the arm" (Hauer has gejehešembi as obsolete form)

Mo. geǰigede-, geǰigele-, geǰigene-, giǰigene- "to tickle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 177/

gelmerjembi "to shine, to glitter"

Evenk. gilbe-
Ev. gilbēl-
Orok. gilberečči-
Nan. girmen-

Mo. gilbelǰe- "to shine, glitter, glare; to flash (in the distance)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; cf. gilmarjambi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 150/

geo "a mare" J. ge morin "mare"

Evenk. gēǵ
Sol. gēǵ

Mo. gegün, gegüü "mare"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 145/

gerci "accuser, one who brings suit, plaintiff"

Evenk. gerečī

Mo. gereči "testimony, document, proof, illustration; witness"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis; cf. Mo. ger-e "agreement, pact, treaty, stipulation, contract; testimony, confirmation, witness, proof".) /S 679/

getembi "to awaken"

Mo. gete- "to stalk; to watch, spy; to lie in ambush, lie in wait"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 183/

gicuke "shameful, disgraceful"

Mo. ičegüri, ičigür, ičigüri "shame, disgrace, ignominy; embarrassment"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 156/

gida "spear, lance" J. gida "spear"

Evenk. gida	Oroc. gida
Sol. gida	Ud. gida
Ev. gid	Orok. gida
Neg. gida	Nan. gida

Mo. ǰida "spear, javelin, bayonet"

Khalkha жад

(On a strict methodological basis this must be classified as a pre-Mongol correspondence. In view of the nature of the word represented here, that is, a culture item, it is likely however to be an ancient loan Mo. → Tu.; the phonology would remain however problematic.) /S 680/

gilmarjambi "to shine, to glow, to flash"

Sol. gilba-

Mo. gilbalǰa-, gilabalǰa- "to flash, shine, beam, glitter"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.)

gindana "prison, jail"

Mo. gindan "prison, jail"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2522/

gingsimbi "to mumble; to growl while sleeping (of a dog); to recite in singsong fashion"

Mo. gingsi- "to sob; to read with a chanting voice; to purr"

(Onomat. in origin and therefore classed as problematic.) /SSTM I, 153/

gio "roe deer (Capreolus capreolus)"

Evenk. giwčēn	"wild goat"
Sol. gīsē	" "
Neg. giwčēn	" "
Oroc. gæuca	" "
Ud. giuse	" "
Orok. giu	" "
Nan. giu	" "

Mo. ǰür "a sheeplike antelope, saiga (Saiga tartarica)"

(Pre-loan correspondence; cf. gida for similar correspondence of initial sounds.) /SSTM I, 148/

girimbi "to trim with a knife or scissors, to cut evenly, to cut a strip"

Evenk. gir-	Ud. gī-
Ev. gir-	Ulc. giri-
Neg. gī-, giji-	Orok. giri-
Oroc. gī-, giji-	Nan. giri-

Mo. kirγa- "to cut off, shear, clip"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 115/

girumbi "to be ashamed, to feel ashamed, to be embarrassed"

Evenk. girbe-

Mo. girbi- "to be bashful, shy, modest, cowardly; to be afraid"

(Problematic as the phonology is unclear; the Evenk. is of course clearly a recent loan from Mo.) /SSTM I, 155/

giyan "reason, right, principle, order; reasonable, right, in order, proper"

Sol. gę̃ "law"
Oroc. gæ(n), gia(n) "law, custom"
Ud. gęæ "law, custom"
Ulc. gę̄(n) "law, custom; court"
Nan. giã "law, power"

Mo. ǰang "character, nature; disposition, temperament; custom, habit, conduct"

(Problematic on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 145/

giyamun "relay station, relay post, military post station"

Mo. ǰam "road, route, way, pass"

(The semantic and phonological bases for this are problematic; cf. also ED p. 933.) /Bang 19/

giyansimbi "to yelp (of dogs that are tied up and want to escape)"

Evenk. geŋa-	Ud. gæŋa-
Sol. giŋa-	Ulc. gēwaŋa-
Ev. gǣŋa-	Orok. gēŋa-
Neg. gēŋa-	Nan. giaŋgi-

Mo. ɣanggina- "to yelp, give forth piercing cries; to cackle, gaggle (of geese)"

Buriat гиигаха "to yelp"

(Onomat. in origin and therefore problematic.) /SSTM I, 146/

gobi "desert, wasteland"

Evenk. gowi "meadow"

Mo. ɣobi "gobi, semidesert; the Gobi"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 157/

godombi "to leap high out of the water (of fish)"

Mo. ɣoǰuyi- "to be tall and thin, long and tight, close-fitting (of clothes); to be erect, rise, stick up"
Note also Mo. ɣoduyi- "to stick up (of a short tail)"

(Problematic.) /S 680/

goho "elegant, dainty, adorned; fop, dandy"

Mo. ɣoyu, ɣoyi "beautiful; smart; well-dressed, elegant"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with morpheme change in Ma. after borrowing.)

gohon "a hook"

Evenk. goko
Neg. goxo
Oroc. goko
Ulc. goko
Orok. gokko, goko
Nan. goako, goxo

Mo. ɣoq-a "crook, hook; fishhook"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. despite such verb forms as Evenk.

and Oroc. goko- "to hook, pick up with a hook" - these are back-formations after borrowing.) /S 680/

goiman "charming, enticing, elegant"

Mo. ɣoyu, ɣoyi "beautiful, smart; well-dressed, elegant"

(Problematic. Possibly influenced in meaning by the above Mo. form, but also influenced or contaminated by Mo. ɣoyiming "noodles vermicelli" with the extended semantics of "fine, elegant".) /SSTM I, 158/

golo "river bed; province, district"

Sol. golo "pivot; river bed; essence"

Mo. ɣoul "river; river bed; valley; large lake (rare)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /S 680/

golon tuwa "a fire that starts on a cloudy night and causes birds to land"

Mo. ɣolumta "fireplace in a yurt, hearth in the center of the tent, inheritance; focus (physics)"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 169/

gorgi "clasp on the girth of a horse"

Evenk. gorgi	"buckle"	
Sol. ǵurgí	"	"
Ud. guagi	"	"

Mo. ɣorki "buckle, ring or hook of a belt, clasp"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis; the other Tu. forms are also recent borrowings by another route.)/R 126/

gosihon "bitter; miserable, suffering" (Hauer has gosihûn as obsol.)

Evenk. getinču	Ud. guačiʰi
Sol. goš'Īgdi	Ulc. gotuli, gutuli
Ev. got	Orok. gotti, gottuli, gotčuli
Neg. gotigdi	Nan goči
Oroc. gotisi	

Mo. ɣasiɣu(n) "bitter; sour; bitterness (also fig.); sorrowful"

Khalkha гашуун

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 680/

gubci "universal, all, entire"

Evenk. kūkte
Sol. xokkoǰi
Ev. kubəč
Neg. kepukte
Ud. kufala
Ulc. kupte
Orok. kopolo, kupukte
Nan. kupukte

Mo. kŭbči(n) "whole, complete, all; everything"

(Problematic; the Ma. appears to be a recent loan from Mo., perhaps a literary loan, but the other Tu. forms indicate a much older correspondence.) /K 2581/

guilehe "apricot" J. guwifala "apricot"

Nan. gujlexe

Mo. gŭilesŭ(n) "apricot"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.) on pattern basis.) /K2560/

gung "duke"

Mo. gŭng "a feudal title roughly equivalent to duke or count"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese kung 公 .) /K 2571/

gungju "princess"

Mo. gŭngǰŭ "princess, daughter of emperor"

(Perhaps separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese kung-chu 公 主 .)

gurehelembi "to wrap with the tendons from a cow's neck"

Mo. gürü-, görü- "to braid, twine, weave"

(Dismissable on etymon basis, cf. Ma. gurehe "the broad tendons on a cow's throat".) /S 681/

gurgu "wild animal, beast" (Hauer lists gurhu as obsol. form)

Mo. görügesü(n) "wild herbivorous animal, game, beast; antelope"

Khalkha гөрөөс

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 681/

gurun "country, tribe, people; ruling house, dynasty"
J. gurun "country"

Sol. gurũ
Ulc. guru(n)
Orok. guru(n)
Nan. gurũ

Mo. gürün "country, state, nation, people"

(Ma. → Mo. in recent times.) /S 681/

guwejihe "stomach"

Evenk. gudiǵē
Sol. gudege, gudegẽ
Ev. gudi
Neg. gudi
Ud. gudie "peritoneum"
Nan. gūǰẽ

Mo. güǰege "stomach of animals; rumen used as a container for butter, kumiss, etc."

Khalkha гүзээ "paunch"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I. 167/

guwembi "to chirp, to tweet, to quack, to clang, to make a noise (like a drum), to sound"

Evenk. guŋ- "to rumble, resound"
Orok. gūn- "to make a noise; to drum (of rain)"
Nan. gueŋgi- "to hum, buzz, ring"

Mo. günggüne- "to hum (of a bumblebee); to speak with a nasal twang; to mumble"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 172/

gûi gûi "(onom.) a sound made by hunters chasing game; a sound used to call the saker falcon"

Mo. γuuγala- "to hallo, shout to one another; to coo"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 164/

gûlha "boot" (Hauer lists gûlga as obsol. form) J. gulaha "shoe"

Ulc. gulxa

Mo. γutul "boot(s), footwear"

(Early Mo. → STu.; cf. Ligeti p. 241 note 11 for the phonology of sound change in STu. after borrowing.) /S 680/

gûldarakûlambi, gûltûrakulambi "to get colic" (Hauer lists gûldarkûlambi and gûlturakûlambi as obsol. forms.)

Mo. γuldungγud- "to lower the head (said of horses and other animals when ill)."

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 169

gûldun "arch, tunnel"

Mo. γuldang, γuldung "arch (as of a bridge or gate)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; cf. gûldurambi below.) /SSTM I, 170/

gûldurambi "to pass through, penetrate; to arch; to dig a tunnel, undermine"

Mo. γulduri- "to spill; to be poured out; to pass through, penetrate; to slide, skip, glide; to cross over; to spread, diffuse, scatter; to intrigue, scheme; to spy; to use a ruse, plot"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 680/

gûna "three-year-old cow" (Hauer has gûnan as obsol. form)

Evenk. gunan
Sol. gunā

Mo. γuna(n) "a three-year-old animal (chiefly of bull, ox, or tiger); three-year-old"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon grounds, cf. Mo. γurba(n) "three"; cf. deone, dunen listed separately.) /S 680/

gûnimbi "to think, to reflect, to consider, to intend"
Sibe 1848 Gonime "to think"

Evenk. gūn-
Sol. gun-
Ev. gēn-
Neg. gūn-
Oroc. gun-
Ud. gun-
Ulc. wen-
Orok. un-
Nan. un-
(all the above with the meaning "to say, speak")

Mo. ge- "to say" [used in some cases with the meaning "to intend"]

(Dismissable on phonological basis. The use of Ma. gûnimbi in the sense of "to intend" is however likely influenced by Mo. usage - one of many loan translations in Ma.) /SSTM I, 171/

gûran "a male roe deer, roebuck"

Evenk. gūran "wild ram"
Nan. gora(n) giu "wild ram"

Mo. γura "roebuck, wild goat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 681/

gûrgi "a clasp"

Mo. γorki "buckle, ring or hook of a belt, clasp"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; note gorgi listed separately. It is unclear if the doublet gûrgi/gorgi represents sound change within Ma. or simply differing writing conventions for essentially the same sound.) /SSTM I, 161/

gûsin "thirty" J. gušin "thirty" Sibe 2765 Goŝin "thirty"
Evenk. gutin, gučin
Sol. gotĩ
Oroc. guti(n)
Ulc. guti(n)
Nan. gočĩ

Mo. ɣuči(n) "thirty; the thirtieth (date)"

Mo. → Tu. at either the ancient or early period of borrowing; the direction of loan is clear on etymon basis, cf. Mo. ɣurba(n) "three". For the pattern of decade-numeral borrowing in Ma. and Tu. see orin, dehe listed separately.) /HCG 6/

gûtubumbi "to be contaminated, to be spoiled; to shame, to spoil"

Mo. ɣutuɣa-, ɣutaɣa- "to disgrace, dishonor"

(Problematic; the Mo. and Ma. words are both causative formations of verbs not cited by SSTM: Mo. ɣutu-, "to be (come) depressed or despondent", Ma. (Hauer) gûtumbi "to spoil, lie exposed"; the semantic connection between the two original verb forms is therefore much less strong.) /S 680/

gûwašambi "to spoil (of sour things)"

Mo. ɣasila- "to turn bitter or sour (esp. of liquids); to spoil"

(Problematic phonetically.) /SSTM I,166/

g'alab "kalpa, world period; disaster, ruin"

Mo. ɣalab, galab "mythological period of time in Buddhist cosmology, eon, period, age"

(Mo. → Ma. recently, on pattern basis for Buddhist terms; source ultimately is Sanskrit kalpa.) /SSTM I, 137-138/

g'arag "planet"

Mo. graɣ, ɣaraɣ, grag, garaɣ "planet; day of the week; week"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; source is ultimately Sanskrit graha.) /SSTM I, 137-138/

g'an, g'ang "steel"

Evenk. gandi	Ud. gaŋa
Sol. gā	Ulc. gā(n)
Neg. gan	Orok. gā(n)
Oroc. gā(n)	Nan. gã

Mo. γang "steel; made of steel"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma. (and Tu.); source is Chinese kang 鋼 .) /SSTM I, 139/

g'ogin "widower". (Hauer has g'oogin as obsol. form)

Mo. γouni "alone, lonely; single man, bachelor, widower"

Khalkha гоонь

(Problematic; the Ma. initial is used to transcribe foreign sounds, especially Chinese (cf. g'ang above) and this indicates the Ma. form may be connected with the Mo. but contaminated by some unknown form in Chinese.) /SSTM I, 157/

habta "the wing of a saddle" (Hauer also has meaning of "bird wing")

Evenk. kaptaġā, kaptakā "board"
Neg. kaptaġun "board"
Oroc. kaptasi "board"

Mo. qabtaγai, qabtaγa "flat, even; wooden board; plane surface, flatness"

Khalkha хавтай

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the other Tu. forms are through another route. Note also kaparambi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 377/

habtaha "a wide girdle used to protect a man's midsection in battle"

Evenk. kaptuġaj "bag"
Sol. xarturga "tobacco pouch"
Neg. kaptux "bag"
Oroc. kaptura "bag"
Ulc. kapturau(n) "bag"

Mo. qabtaγ-a(n) "bag, pouch, purse; pocket"

(Problematic on semantic grounds; nevertheless likely to be Mo. → Ma. considering the Mongol practice of carrying items within the folds of a belted robe. The other Tu. forms are of course Mo. → Tu.) /SSTM I, 377/

hada "crag, a small cliff"

Evenk. kadaġa	Oroc. kada
Sol. kadār	Ud. kada
Ev. kadaku, kadār	Ulc. kadali
Neg. kadā	Orok. kada

Mo. qada(n) "rock, cliff, crag"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /SSTM I, 360/

hadambi "to nail, to tack; to sting (of insects); to sole (shoes or boots); to fix the eyes on"

Evenk. kada-
Ev. kad- "to squeeze, to press"
Neg. kada- "to delay, hold back"
Orok. kada- "to defend; to impede; to forbid"
Nan. xada- "to stick into the ground"

Mo. qada- "to drive, knock in; to nail; to inscribe or enter one's name on a register; to insert something in a text; to get stuck"

(Early Mo. → Ma.) /S 682/

hadara "grayling - a small fish that lives in clear cold water (Salmo thymallus)"

Evenk. kadara

Mo. qadar-a "grayling, Salmo thymallus"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 682/

hadumbi "to cut with a sickle, to reap"

Evenk. kadu-
Sol. xadi-
Ulc. xado-
Nan. xado-

Mo. qadu- "to mow, harvest; to cut (as grass, grain)"

(Early Mo. → STu.) /S 682/

hafirambi "to pinch, to press or hold between two objects; to hold under the arm; to press a seam together; to put pressure on, to compel..." (Hauer lists haifirambi as obsol. form)

Ulc. kapura- "to press"
Orok. kapira- "press, vise; tongs"
Nan. kapira- "to press"

Mo. qabči- "to squeeze, clamp; to pinch; to exert pressure, oppress; to compel, force out"

(Pre-loan correspondence; cf. also kabcihun, kapahun, kaparambi listed separately. Schmidt 1932 p. 585 suggests a different Mo. correspondence to the Ma. form above: Mo. qabir-, qabira- "to whet, grind; to rub; to touch lightly in passing; to stand close to one another". This, due to semantic differences, is not a direct loan into Ma. despite the phonetic similarity.) /PVG 43/

hagambi "to get something caught in the throat"

Ulc. kaxambuwusi- "to choke, block off"
Orok. kagumi- " "
Nan. kawali- " ""

Mo. qaqa- "to suffocate, choke"

Khalkha *xaxax*

(Early Mo. → STu.; may be onomat. in origin in Mongol.) /SSTM I, 356/

haijan "a mode of Manchu singing during which the singer imitates the movements of a snake"

Mo. ayiǰam "a gay or cheerful song or tune; dance song; clapping of the hands to indicate the rhythm in dancing or singing"

(Problematic; the initial consonant of the Ma. form is anomalous.) /S681/

hailan "elm tree" J. haila "elm"

Evenk. kaǰlahun
Sol. xailāsŭ
Nan. xaila

Mo. qayilasu(n) "elm tree"

(Early Mo. → STu.; the Evenk. and Sol. forms are more recent borrowings.) /K 709/

hailun "otter"

Evenk. kalun, kal'un

Mo. qaliγu(n) "otter, beaver"

Khalkha халиу(н)

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; note kailun listed separately.) /S 681/

hairambi "to regret, to begrudge, to be unwilling to part with; to love tenderly"

Evenk. kajrę̄ "(exclam.) pity!"
Sol. xairaši "favorite, beloved"
Ev. kaja- "to spare"
Ulc. kajran- "to pity"
Orok. kajran- "to pity; to spare"
Nan. kajran- "to pity; to spare"

Mo. qayir-a "love, grace, mercy, compassion"

(Problematic; as there is no verb form in Mo. other than a derived form from the noun, the indication is that the Mo. is a borrowing from the Tungus. This is unlikely, however, in view of the semantics and the general pattern of Tungus loans into Mongol.) /S 682/

hajalambi, hajaljambi (Zakh. 393) "to shine (of silver, etc.)"

Mo. qajĭ- "to hem or border garments"

Buriat хажалха

(Problematic on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 458/

hajun "weapon, tool; a sicklelike knife used in tiger traps"

Evenk. xaǰun "thing; instrument, tool"
Oroc. xaǰu(n) "thing; instrument; weapon"
Ud. xaǰu(n) "thing; instrument; tool"
Ulc. xaǰu(n) "implements; hunting gear"
Orok. xaǰu(n) "thing; instrument; tool"
Nan. xaǰõ, xaǰũ "thing; instrument"

Mo. qaǰaγur "pincers, pliers"

Khalkha хазуур

(Dismissable on semantic and etymon basis, cf. Mo. qaǰa- "to bite, gnaw, nibble" from which the Mo. noun above is a derived form.) /S 683/

hakda "old grass left over from the previous year, a spot of grass remaining in an area that has been burnt over"

Mo. qaγda "dry grass of the preceding year"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 682/

haksambi "to beocme scorched, to get dark from contact with sunlight or fire; to turn red in the rising or setting sun (clouds); to have a burning sensation in the stomach"

Evenk. kakti- "to be burnt"
Ud. kakčampa "orange colored"
Ulc. kakta- "to be burnt"
Orok. kakči- "to heat up"

Mo. qaγsa-"to dry out, parch, shrivel in drying; to have heartburn; to have a rest (of a horse); to be deprived of something agreeable"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; but there is contamination in the Ma. with an earlier form and meaning, represented by the other Tu. forms; these too were likely borrowings from Mo. but at an earlier date, cf. the etymon base in Mo. represented by e.g. qaγur- "to fry", qaγurai "dry, dried up".) /S 682/

halahai "nettle"

Ud. xalaxaj

Mo. qalaγai, qalaqai "nettle

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 460/

halambi "to exchange, to change (clothing), to take the place of" J. halabi "to alter"

Evenk. kala- "to repair, improve"
Neg. kala- "to replace"
Oroc. kala- " "
Ud. kala- " ""
Ulc. kala- " "
Orok. kala- " "
Nan. kala- " "

Mo. qala- "to change, replace"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /R 88/

halambi "to burn (of a hot object)"

Mo. qala- "to be(come) or feel warm or hot (not used of weather(; to be(come) warmed up or heated up (as through intoxication or over an argument)"

(Problematic on semantic grounds.) /S 682/

halbaha "a small knob on a helmet, the decoration on the top of a banner pole, a finial; the wide part of an arrowhead; a spoon"

Evenk. kalbaġa "spoon"
Ulc. xalbi, xalbu "spoon"
Nan. xalbi "spoon"

Mo. qalbaγ-a(n), qalbuγ-a "spoon; the knob on a flag staff; bobber (in fishing); spoon bill (bird)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 365/

halda "sturgeon's spleen -- used as a medicine for boils"

Ulc. kaldami "part of the stomach of the caluga"
Orok. xālda "blockage of the diaphragm; paunch"

Mo. qalda "spleen of the sturgeon"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 361/

halfiyan "flat, thin" (Hauer lists kalfiyan as obsol. form)

Nan. kalpi-kalpi bĭ "flattened out"

Mo. qalbayi- "to be broad, wide, or baggy (esp. of garments)"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 365/

hamgiya "skullcap; plants resembling sagebrush or mugwort"

Mo. qamquul "tumble-weed"

Khalkha хамхуул
Kalm. xamxūl

(Proposed by Ligeti, 1960 p. 239; the morpheme changes beyond the first syllable are problematic.)

hamimbi "to approach, to be close to, to almost reach; to suffice; to be within reach; to bear, to tolerate"

Nan. xami-

Mo. qamiyara- "to concern oneself with; to interfere; to have a relation or connection with; to care; to fulfill a charge, discharge a duty"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /S 683/

han "emperor, khan"

Sol. xā̄
Nan. kã

Mo. qan "khan, king, chief"

Khalkha хан

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the earlier form represented by Jurchen hagan, Mo. qaγan with the sense of "emperor, great khan" is commonly encountered throughout Central Asia and the direction of borrowing for that form is problematic, as the origin is unknown.) /HCG 3/

hana "a section of lattice wall of a yurt"

Evenk. kana
Sol. xana
Orok. xana "poles, pillars; external siding; outer door"
Nan. xano "reed, rush"

Mo. qan-a(n) "a section of lattice wall of a yurt; lath; wall"

(Early Mo. → STu. on pattern basis.) /S 682/

hanci "near"

Mo. qani "friend; companion, partner; husband"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /S 682/

hanggai "packsaddle" (Hauer has hangga)

Evenk. kaŋka
Ev. kaŋka
Nan. xaŋga "cavity of the jugular vein"

Mo. qangqai "large, spacious; empty, unfurnished (as a yurt or room); unequipped" note also Mo. qangqai emegel "a kind of packsaddle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 682/

hanggisun "a long silk cloth fringed at both ends"

Mo. qanggisu "silk scarf with a fringe"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 462/

hangsi "a type of very thin silk"

Mo. qangsi "a kind of thin silk"

(Recent Mo.→Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 462/

hangsi "the spring festival falling on the 5th or 6th of April"
J. hanši

Mo. qangsi "the Chinese 'spring festival' known as ch'ing ming chieh 清明節 , at which time the Chinese worship at the tombs of their ancestors"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological grounds; ultimately from Chinese han-shih 寒食 .) /SSTM I, 462

hangšara (Hauer) "nosebone of cattle"

Mo. qangsiyar "bridge of the nose"

Khalkha хамцаар

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; note also kangsiri listed separately.) /SSTM I, 413/

hara "black (of horses)"

Sol. xarā

Mo. qar-a "a) black, dark, obscure b) unrefined, common, plain"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note also kara listed separately.) /SSTM I, 379/

haran "reason, cause"

Mo. qariy-a(n) "relation, contact, dependence; jurisdiction; reason; affair; necessity"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 463/

hargi "a place where water flows very swiftly, rapids"

Evenk. kargi "shallow-watered"

Mo. qargi "rapids; swift course"

Khalkha харгы

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 683/

haršambi "to protect, to defend; to cover up for; to be partial to"

Mo. qara- "to look at, glance, watch, observe; to regard, consider; to look after; to face"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 380/

hasaha "scissors, shears"

J. hajiha "scissors"

Evenk. kajik
Sol. xaiš'i

Neg. kajisin - "to cut, slit"

Mo. qayiči(n) "scissors, tongs, pincers"

(Problematic phonologically.) /S 682/

hashan "a fence of wood or kaoliang stalks, a palisade"

Mo. qasiy-a(n), qasiγ-a "hedge, fence, enclosure; pen; dam; weir"

Khalkha хашаа

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with morpheme change after the borrowing.) /SSTM I, 463/

hašambi "to scrub"

Mo. qusu-, kisu- "to scrape; to shave"

(Dismissable on phonetic basis.) /SSTM I, 400/

hašambi "to surround, to encompass; to cover, to protect"

Mo. qasi- "to block, stop, shield, bar; to enclose, fence; to pen, corral"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 463/

hatambi "to immerse red-hot metals into water to harden them, to temper; to fire (ceramics or pottery)"

Evenk. katā-
Neg. kata-
Nan. xata-

Mo. qataɣa- "to dry; to harden or temper iron"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note also <u>katambi</u> listed separately.) /SSTM I, 384/

hebe "consultation, deliberation; plan, plot, intrigue"

Nan. xebesi- "to consult"

Mo. kebei "council, deliberation (hist.)"

(Problematic, the direction of loan is uncertain.) /SSTM I, 480/

hebtehe "a wide waistband (worn by women)"

Mo. kebeli "belly, stomach; paunch; womb"

(Problematic; note <u>hefeli</u> listed separately.) /SSTM I, 388/

hedereku "a rake"

Evenk. kederē
Ev. kerde
Neg. kedeġe, kedeje
Oroc. kede
Ud. kede
Ulc. kedereku
Orok. kederē
Nan. kedereku
(the above all with the meaning "scraper for hides")

Mo. kederge(n) "a wooden scraper used in tanning hides"

Khalkha хэдрэг

(Problematic; I am unable to ascertain whether this is a Mo. loan or pre-loan correspondence. Note nujan "fist" listed separately for the expected phonetic shape of an early loan of this type.) /SSTM I, 433/

hefeli "belly" J. hefuli "abdomen"

Sol. kéli
Ev. kēbəl

Mo. kebeli "belly, stomach; paunch; womb"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.). /HCG 4/

hele "mute, dumb"

Evenk. kelegej
Ev. kelegej
Neg. keleme
Oroc. keleme
Ulc. keleme
Orok. keleme
Nan. xele

Mo. kelegei "dumb, mute; stammering, stuttering, tongue-tied"

(Problematic; the Mongol form is a fusion of kele "language, tongue" and ügei "not, having none" and therefore the Tu. should all be Mo. borrowings on etymon grounds. However, the shape of the Tu. forms is, except for Evenk. and Ev., unexpected, dropping as it does the final morpheme of the Mo.) /K 2473/

helen "a spy, an informer, an enemy captive who gives information"

Mo. kele(n) "a) tongue b) anything resembling the tongue...c) language, dialect, speech"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 683/

helnembi "to invite, to go to invite"

Evenk. kēlē- "to request"
Oroc. kēlegi- "to invite"
Orok. kēli- "to arrange, agree"

Mo. kele- "to utter words, express in words; to speak, say, tell, narrate"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 447/

hengke "melon, cucurbitaceous plants" (Hauer has hengge as obsol. form) J. heke "melon"

Sol. kemké
Nan. xeŋke

Mo. kemeke, kemke "a small pumpkin or gourd; cucumber"

(Early Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 388/

her har "(onom.) the sound of clearing one's throat"

Evenk. kergi- "to snore"
Ev. kergə- "to growl, snarl"
Neg. kergi- "to wheeze"

Mo. kerčigine- "onomat. to crunch"

(Dismissable on phonetic and semantic grounds, though all onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I, 453/

heren "corral, stable"

Neg. kejen "fence"
Ulc. kere(n) "fence"
Orok. kere(n) "fence"
Nan. kerẽ "stall, cattle shed"

Mo. kerem "mound, wall, rampart; walled enclosure or city; fortress, citadel, castle"

(Phonological indications are Mo. → Ma. but the semantic changes are problematic.) /SSTM I, 483/

hergimbi "to wind (thread); to wander, to vagabond; to circle (of predatory birds)"

Evenk. herke- "to tie, bind"
Sol. ekke- "to wrap, twist around"
Ev. herkə- "to tie around"
Neg. xejke- "to tie around"
Ud. xeke- " "
Ulc. xerke- "to wind round"
Nan. xerke- "to tie around"

Mo. ergi- "a) to turn or move around, revolve; to circumambulate (as an act of devotion or worship) b) to surround, encompass, encircle c) to return, turn back d) to visit regularly or repeatedly"

MMo. hergi-

(An anomalous correspondence; one would expect Ma. *fergimbi where Ma. f- is a reflex of *p- (represented in MMo. by h-), and the Ulc. and Nan. forms should be *perke- as a regular reflex of this same *p-. There can be no doubt that this is a borrowing from Mo. into Tu.: the phonological indications are that it is a fairly recent borrowing, despite the distribution throughout Tu.; remains problematic. See also erguwembi listed separately.) /PVG 104/

hicumbi "to look for faults in someone, to find fault"

Mo. kiqa- "to choke; to menace, intimidate; to oppress; to hinder"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 467/

hija "a stove for melting silver and other metals"

Mo. kisa "forge, furnace"

(Problematic phonologically.) /K 2524/

himci "in two, asunder"

Sol. xonč

Mo. kemke, qamq-a "into pieces, asunder"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 471/

hinggan (Hauer) "mountain chain in Inner Mongolia and Heilungkiang"

Evenk. hiŋan
Sol. x'iaŋa

Mo. kingγ- a(n) "horse's withers; mountain range or ridge; mountainour area covered with taiga and swanps"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /K 106/

hirambi "to look askance at, to spy on"

Evenk. kilar-
Ev. kærin-
Neg. kilbu-
Nan. kialboči-

Mo. kiluyi-, kilayi- "to look askance at, squint; to look at someone with scorn or anger"

(Problematic; note also Ma. hiyarambi (Hauer) "to squint at.") /S 683/

hirha "flint" (Hauer lists hirga as obsol. form)

Evenk. kira "border, edge"
Ev. kirɐn, kirɐġ "border, edge"
Neg. kẹ̄ja "flint"
Oroc. kia, kija "...edge of something"
Ud. keæ "edge, bank"
Orok. kira "edge, bank"
Nan. kira "edge, bank"

Mo. kir-a "summit or ridge of mountain, small mountain chain; foothills; slope; a strip (usually of horn) attached to the front and rear edges of the saddle"

(Problematic on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 397/

hise "actor, actress"

Mo. siči "actor, theatrical performer"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.) /SSTM 1, 467/

hiya "guard, page, specifically an imperial guard who wore peacock feathers"

Mo. kiy-a "officer in the service of a prince; aide, bodyguard, page, adjutant; footman, orderly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /V 220/

hiyaban "coarse hempen cloth"

Mo. kiyaban "hemp cloth"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2543/

hofin "a small porcelain vase" J. hufi "pot"
Nan. hofi(n)

Mo. qubing, quubing "pitcher, water vessel, pail, bucket"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is hu-p'ing 壺瓶 .)
/SSTM I, 472/

hojihon "son-in-law" (Hauer lists hojigon as obsol. form)
J. hodiyo "son-in-law"

Evenk. kuda "heads of families related through marriage"
Neg. xodowū
Oroc. xodū
Ulc. xodu
Nan. xojo

Mo. quda "the heads of two families related through marriage of their children; father of one's son-in-law or daughter-in-law"

(With the exception of the Evenk. form, which is a recent borrowing from Mo., the Tu. forms are problematic semantically.) /SSTM I, 423/

holbombi "to connect, to join; to pair, to mate, to get married; to implicate"

Sol. xolbo-

Mo. qolbu- [qolbo-], qolba- "to unite, combine, connect, incorporate; to link to; to unite in marriage"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 684)

holo "valley; ravine, furrow, a tile drain, ditch"

Neg. xōl "smoke flue"
Ulc. xōli "smoke flue"
Nan. xōl "smoke flue"

Mo. qoγulai "throat, gullet; pharynx; voice; tube, pipe; chimney; gorge; wide valley between two mountain ridges; ravine"

(Early Mo. → STu.; note koloi listed separately.)/R 125/

holo "false, spurious, not genuine"

Evenk. kolo "sly, cunning"
Nan. xolto- "to deceive"

Mo. qola "far, distant, remote"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 407/

holtu cecike "the name of a small bird"

Mo. qulutu biljuuqai "a kind of bird"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimately from Chinese hu-lo-t'ou 葫蘆頭 .) /SSTM I, 477/

honggon "small bell"

Evenk. kōŋākte
Sol. xoŋko
Ev. kōŋat
Oroc. koŋokto
Ulc. koŋgokto
Orok. koŋgōkto
Nan. koŋgōkto

Mo. qongqu "bell, hand-bell"

(The Tu. and Mo. forms, as well as TÜ. (ED 640) koŋra:k, koŋrağu seem to be connected but as the origin is likely onomat. The correspondence is of little value. It is probable that the Ma. form is, however, a recent borrowing or recently influenced by Mo.) /K 871/

honin "sheep; the eighth of the earth's branches" J. honi "sheep"

Evenk. konin
Sol. xonĩ
Ud. xuani "ram"
Ulc. xoni(n)
Orok. xoni(n)
Nan. xonĩ

Mo. qoni(n) "sheep; the eighth year in the 12-year cycle; period from 1 to 3 P.M."

(On the basis of pattern for livestock terms, ancient Mo. → Tu.; ultimately from TÜ.) /HCG 4/

hontoholombi "to divide into halves, to halve"

Mo. qoltura- "to peel off; to be detached"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 408/

hoošan "paper" J. hauša "paper"

Neg. xawsan
Oroc. xausa
Ud. xauja
Ulc. xaosali, xausali
Orok. xawsali
Nan. xaosã

Mo. qaɣudasu(n) "sheet of paper; list; leaflet; page; note, memo"

(Problematic; if the Tu. and Mo. forms are connected at all - which is unlikely on a phonological basis - then the Tu. forms have undergone some type of contamination by another, possibly Chinese, element.) /SSTM I, 462/

hopen "fire basin, small charcoal stove"

Sol. kóbuŋ "hearth"

Mo. qobung "brazier, pan for holding burning coals"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is huo-p'en 火盆 .) /SSTM I, 402/

horimbi "to enclose, to put in a pen, to imprison"

Evenk. korigalā-
Sol. xori- "to forbid; to lock up"
Oroc. koi- "to place in a frame"
Ud. kua- "to make cuttings for a barn or shed"
Ulc. kori- "to make a frame"
Nan. kori- "to build with timber; to fence in"

Mo. qori- "to shut in, confine, imprison, enclose; to prevent, prohibit; to hold back, dissuade"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on phonological and semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 415/

horon "poison, especially that of bees, wasps, hornets and scorpions"

Evenk. koro
Sol. xorõ

Mo. qour-a, qour "harm, evil, malice; embitterment; poison"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note also koro listed separately.) /S 684/

hose "box" J. hoǰi "casket"

Sol. k'ęǰa

Mo. qosa "square or round box"

(Probably recent Mo. → Ma.; source is ultimately Chinese ho-tzŭ 合子 or 盒子 .) /SSTM I, 386/

hoton "walled city, city wall"

Sol. xotõ
Neg. xoton
Oroc. xoto(n)
Ud. xoto(n)
Ulc. xoto(n)
Orok. xoto(n)
Nan. xotõ

Mo. qota(n), qotu(n) "city, town, village; enclosure; fortress, citadel, city wall"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /S 683/

hotorombi "to curve up at one end"

Evenk. kotokon "curved"
Ev. kotan'a "curved"
Ulc. koto(n) "flexible"
Nan. kotajgã "curving"

Mo. qotuyi- "to be(come) concave; to cave in; to sag"

(Problematic.) /SSTM I, 418/

hude "the stern of a ship"

Nan. kude "stern; rudder"

Mo. kitüge "the stern of a ship or boat"

Khalkha хитэг

(Early Mo. → Ma.; cf. nujan and gûlha for similar loss of the medial consonant after borrowing. First proposed by Kow. 2528.)

huhun "breast; milk" J. huhun "milk"

Evenk. ukun
Sol. uxũ "milk"
Ev. əkən
Neg. exən
Oroc. oko(n)
Ud. kos'o
Ulc. kue(n)
Orok. kō(n), kū(n)

Mo. kökü(n), köke(n) "female breast, nipples; udder"

(Pre-loan correspondence on phonological and semantic basis; note also Tü. (ED 714) kögüz "chest, breast".) /K 2631/

hujuku "bellows"

Evenk. kurge
Ud. kuge

Ev. kērge
Neg. kūjge
Oroc. kūge
Ulc. kueje
Orok. kōdo, kūddu
Nan. kuege

Mo. kögerge, kegürge, kögürge "bellows"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. köge- "to swell, distend".) /S 685/

hujurembi "to grind, to mill"

Evenk. hurgu- "to splinter, crush"
Nan. xuǰire- "to grind; to pound"

Mo. ergi- "to turn or move around, revolve..."
MMo. hergi(jü)

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 352/

hukšeri bele "rice that has turned brown from long storage"

Mo. kögsin "old (of men and animals); old man, old woman"

(Problematic on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 476/

hulun murakû "a whistle used for luring deer" (Hauer states that it is made from a gourd skin) note Ma. murakû "a whistle used for luring deer"

Mo. qulu(n) "a kind of gourd; a ladle with a long handle; part of armor behind the shoulder"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note also holtu cecike listed separately.) /SSTM I, 477/

humsun "craw of a bird; eyelid" Sibe 12 kumusuN "eyelid"

Neg. kembukte "(upper) eyelid"
Ulc. kumbikte, kimte "eyelid"
Nan. kumuktu "eyelid"

Mo. kömüsge "eyebrow(s); the brow of a hill; steep slope of a mountain"

Khalkha хөмсөг

(Problematic: the Ma. and Tu. forms may be contaminated by the Mo. but are not direct borrowings.) /S 685/

hurku "sulphur"

Mo. kŭkŭr "sulphur"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; note that metathesis has occurred in the Ma. form.) /SSTM I, 478/

hû giyoo (Hauer) "pepper"

Mo. quvaǰiyuu, quvagiu "pepper"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; hua-chiao 花椒 → Mo., hu-chiao 胡椒→ Ma.) /SSTM I, 475/

hûba "amber" J. huba(i) "amber"

Mo. quba(n) "amber; pale yellow"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.); source is ultimately Chinese hu-p'o 琥珀 .) /SSTM I, 473/

hûbarak "clergy, clerical"

Mo. quvaraγ "the clergy; priest, monk"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; this differs from the normal Sanskrit-derived terminology, however, in that it has Tü. origin, cf. Tü. (ED 585) kuvra:g, the standard translation of Sanskrit saṃgha "monastic community".) /SSTM I, 473/

hûcin "a well" J. hiši "well"

Sol. xudug
Nan. xočĩ "well; spring"

Mo. quduγ, qudduγ "well"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.); ultimately Tü. in origin, note Tü. (ED 598) kudug; the second syllable in the Tu. forms remains problematic.) /HCG 4/

hûdašambi "to engage in business, to trade" J. hudašamai "to sell"

Neg. xoda-
Oroc. xodasi-, xudasi-
Ud. xudasi-
Ulc. xudasi-
Orok. xudači-
Nan. xodasi-

Mo. qudaldu- "to barter, trade, do business; to sell"

(Considering such forms as Oroc., Ud., Ulc., Orok. xuda "goods, merchandise, trade", Nan. xoda "goods; commerce", this is a rare Tu. → Mo. loan on etymon basis. I suspect that actually this word existed in Mo. at an earlier time but all trace is lost, and quda in Mo. only bears the meaning "father-in-law, the leader of a family related by marriage" at the present time. I am not inclined to accept Sanzeev's connection of this latter form with the former ones, despite his argument that fathers-in-law exchange wedding gifts and therefore are bartering. /S 684/

hûdun "fast, quick" (Hauer also lists hurdun)

Nan. xodõ

Mo. qurdun "quick, fast, rapid, swift; nimble, prompt; speed"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 684/

hûlha "bandit, robber, thief; rebel; secret, on the sly"
J. hulahai niyarma "burglar"

Sol. xulaxa "thief"
Orok. xorxa "thief"
Nan. xolxa "thief"

Mo. qulaγai "theft, robbery, banditry; thief, robber"

(Problematic; the direction of loan and dating of the loan is unclear. Tu., including Ma., has the verb form from the stem, e.g. Ma. hûlhambi "to rob, to steal", but note also Mo. qulaγu- "to steal, rob". Judging from distribution this is a loan from Mo. → STu.) /HCG 5/

hûmgan (Zakh. 441) "pitcher, vessel for storing water (Buddh.)"

Mo. qomq-a(n), qumq-a(n) "vase, pitcher; vessel"

Khalkha ————————

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; ultimately from Sanskrit kumbha.) /S 685/

hûntaha "cup, mug, glass" J. hotoho "bottle gourd"

Oroc. kotka "cup of a pipe"
Ulc. kota(n) "vessel"
Nan. kotkã

Mo. qundaγ-a(n) "wine cup, goblet"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the other Tu. forms may be from an earlier borrowing.) /SSTM I, 418/

hûru "a mouth harp made from cow's horn and bamboo" (Hauer also lists kuru)

Evenk. kūr "stringed musical instrument"
Sol. xūr "psaltery"

Mo. quγur, quur "stringed musical instrument played with a bow"

(Problematic on semantic grounds; the Evenk. and Sol. are however recent borrowings from Mo.) /SSTM I, 435/

hûse "beard"

Sol. kúš'ę
Oroc. xausi
Ud. xūǰe "bandit"
Ulc. xasču

Mo. quuǰa "whiskers"

(Mo. ← Chinese → STu.; source is hu-tzŭ 鬍子 .)/SSTM I,441/

hûsiha moo "wild walnut" J. hušu "walnut"

Evenk. kočikta "nut tree"
Ud. kusikta "walnut"
Ulc. kačiakta "walnut"
Nan. kočoa "walnut"

Mo. qusiγ-a(n) "nut, walnut; testicles"

Khalkha xyωra

(Early Mo. → STu.) /SSTM II, 291)

hûsimbi "to wrap, to wrap up, to envelop"

Evenk. kuči-

Mo. quči- "to cover, cover up; to cover oneself with a blanket"

(Mo. → Ma. but the dating of the loan is problematic, note Ma. hûsihan "woman's skirt", J. hušigan "skirt", Ulc. xosi(n) "robe", Neg. xoskan "hunting robe" which would be derived forms from the verb and appear to be quite old.) /S 684/

husun "strength, power, might; laborer, worker" J. husun "strength"

Evenk. kusĪn
Ev. kusin
Neg. kusun
Ud. kuʰi
Ulc. kusu(n)
Orok. kusu(n)
Nan. kusũ

Mo. kŭčŭ(n) "power, force (also military), strength; effort; energy; validity"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /K 2613/

hûturi "good luck, good fortune" J. hutur "happiness"

Evenk. kutu

Mo. qutuγ "sanctity, holy rank; dignity, distinction; happiness, bliss; benediction"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.); ultimately Tŭ. in origin, cf. ED 594 kut.) /S 684/

hûwacarambi "to snore"

Mo. qurkira-, qorkira- "to groan (of beasts); to snore"

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds: both Mo. and Ma. are onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I, 422/

hûwaise "pagoda tree, the Chinese yellow-berry (Sophora japonica)"

Mo. qovaisa "acacia"

(May be separately Chinese → Mo. and Chinese → Ma.; source is huai-tzŭ 槐子, despite Lessing p.974.) /SSTM I, 473/

hûwakšan "a small stave used in card playing to show whose turn it is"

Mo. qaγul- "to peel off, skin, flay; to copy"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 407/

hûwalambi "to break up, to cut up, to split; to rip up; to cut (the hair)"

Mo. quγul-, qaγul- "to break in two (of long objects), fracture (bone)"

Khalkha хуралах

(Dismissable on phonetic grounds.) /SSTM I, 473/

hûwangdi "emperor" J. huwan ["imperial"]

Mo. quvangdi "emperor"

(May be separately Chinese → Mo. and Chinese → Ma.; source is huang-ti 皇帝 .) /SSTM I, 474/

hûwara "file"

Mo. qaγurai, qaurai "file, rasp"

Khalkha хуурай

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note hebe listed separately for similar treatment of the final syllable.) /SSTM I, 474/

hûwašan "a Buddhist monk" (Hauer lists hoošang as obsol. form)

Mo. qoušang "Chinese Buddhist monk or priest"

(Problematic; the Mo. is probably from Chinese ho-shang 和尚 but this in itself is a transcription of a term whose origin is obscure, cf. Mathews #2115 (c).)/SSTM I, 474/

hûyan "rheumatism in the shoulder"

Mo. quyang "tendon, sinew, nerve; rheumatism, arthritis"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis.) /SSTM I, 475/

ikengge "original; chief, great, large"

Mo. yeke "great, big, large (both physical and abstract); older, elder; majestic, imposing; adult (adj.); much, very, greatly"

(Mo. → Ma. but the time of borrowing is problematic; see also yekengge listed separately.) /SSTM I, 302/

ikiri "pair, twins; in pairs, in succession, one after another"

Evenk. ikirē
Sol. ixirē

Mo. iker-e, ikir-e "twins"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 317/

ildumbi "to be well acquainted with, to be friends with"

Mo. ildamla- "to be friendly, kind, or sympathetic"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; note Mo. ildam "friendly, kind..." and Ma. ildun "agreeable, opportune, convenient".)

ildun "convenient, comfortable; convenience, opportunity"

Mo. ildar "occasion, opportunity; right or favorable time or moment"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 308/

iletu "clear, open, out in the open, obvious, manifest, distinct; neat, clean; not shy, open"

Mo. iledte, ilete "open(ly), manifest(ly), evident(ly), obvious(ly), concrete(ly), distinct(ly), clear(ly)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 6/

ilgambi "to distinguish, to differentiate"

Sol. ilgā-

Mo. ilγa- "to separate, assort; to classify, analyze, distinguish; to discern, discriminate, differentiate; to select the best"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /HCG 5/

imahû "goral (Naemorhedus goral)" J. imala "goat"

Evenk. imaġan
Sol. imaġā
Neg. imaja
Oroc. ima(n)
Ud. ima
Ulc. ima(n)
Nan. ima

Mo. imaγ-a(n), nimaγan "goat"

Buriat ямаа(н)
Khalkha ямаа(н) Kalm. 214 jamān

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; note niman listed separately.) /SSTM I, 312/

imata "completely, all, totally, thoroughly"

Nan. ima(n-) "very, extraordinarily"

Mo. imaʏta "always, constantly; solely, uniquely; exceedingly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 313/

ingtori "cherry" (Hauer lists ingturi as obsol. form)

Mo. ingtuur "cherry"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma., cf. Chinese ying-t'ao 櫻 桃 .) /SSTM I, 322/

ini "genitive of i" note Ma. i "he, she" J. ini ini "each"

Sol. iní

Mo. inu "originally, the genitive form of the extinct pronoun i, he, she, it..."

(Due to the localized occurrence within Tu., a loan Mo. → Ma. (and J.) at an early period; the Sol. a later loan from a different route. But note that the genitive formation is a regular structural feature within Ma.; cf. bi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 315/

injembi "to laugh" J. inǰe- "to laugh"

Evenk. in'e-	Oroc. in'ekte-
Sol. nekte-	Ud. in'e-
Ev. in'-	Ulc. in'ekte-
Neg. in'e-	Nan. inekte-

(For the Nan., Oroc., and Ulc. forms with -kte- note that this is a suffix of iterative aspect, cf. Benzing p. 119)

Mo. iniye-, inege-, inige- "to laugh, chuckle"

(Pre-loan correspondence; the form is in all probability onomat. in origin.) /S 622/

irahi "ripple"

Mo. iraγ-a "ripples on the surface of water"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; but also note Ma. iren "ripple and foam caused by swimming fish".) /K 318/

irge (Hauer) "castrated ram"

Sol. irge

Mo. irge "castrated ram, wether"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 623/

irgen "people, the common people" J. irge(be) "populace"

Nan. irgẽ "large settlement"

Mo. irgen "people, subject, citizen; Chinese (coll.)"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.); Lessing p. 414 implies that this is a Ma. loan into Mo. but this is untenable, cf. TMEN #16.) /HCG 5/

itu "Chinese partridge (Perdix barbata)"

Sol. itau

Mo. itaγu "partridge"

Khalkha ятуу

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 623/

itulhen "saker, Shanhan falcon (Falco cherrug)" (Hauer has iturhen as obsol. form)

Mo. itelgü "gyrfalcon"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM 1, 334/

jabarhan "an iron hoop"

Mo. čaγariγ "circle, ring; hoop; rim of a wheel"

(Problematic on phonological grounds.) /SSTM I, 239/

jadaha "crippled, disabled, paralyzed" (Hauer lists jadahan as obsol. form)

Mo. yada- "to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be

in need; to suffer; to be unable"

(Problematic; the standard reflex for Mo. y- is seen in yadambi listed separately. This is one of a number of doublet forms (cf. also jaksimbi) which may be related to the ambiguity of the Mongol (but not the Manchu) script.) /SSTM I, 338/

jahacin (Hauer) "Jungarian tribe"

Mo. ————————

Khalkha захчин "a tribe of the Torgut"

(Mo. → Ma. on etymon grounds.) /SSTM I, 244/

jahala "a horse with red or brown stripes around the neck"

Mo. ǰaγal "having dark spots on the neck and shoulders (of a stallion or gelding)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /K 2247/

jailambi "to avoid, to get out of the way of, to shun, to hide"

Sol. ǰaila-
Ulc. ęlu-
Nan. jāli-

Mo. ǰayila- "to go away from; to step aside; to yield, give way; to avoid, elude, evade, dodge"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. ǰai "space between, distance; gap"; the initial sound in the Ulc. and Nan. forms is problematic.) /HCG 5/

jak moo "haloxylon ammodendron -- a low bush that can be used as fuel even when it's green"

Mo. ǰaγ "haloxylon ammodendron (a low bush which makes excellent fuel even though green)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 244/

jaka "side, edge, border"

Evenk. ǰaka "collar"
Sol. ǰaxa "collar"

Mo. ǰaq-a "brim, rim, border, frontier; side, flank; collar; bazaar, market"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the Evenk. and Sol. are by another route.)

jaksimbi (Zakh. 961) "to close, lock"

Mo. yaγsi- "to be firm or unyielding; to be obstinate; to be resolute or determined; to stick to; to be obtrusive or importunate; to lock"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis; this is not the expected correspondence to Mo. y-, see yaksimbi listed separately. The doublet may be due to the ambiguity of Mongol script.) /SSTM I, 339/

jalambi "to let up (of an illness), to pause, to desist"

Mo. ǰayila- "to go away from; to step aside; to yield, give way; to avoid, elude, evade, dodge"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonological grounds.) /SSTM I, 242/

jalasu "an emblem or token carried by emissaries; an imperial document conferring enfeoffment"

Evenk. ǰalagan

Mo. ǰalaγ-a "tassel; crest (of a bird); thick silk thread"

Khalkha залаа

(Problematic on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 245/

jalbarimbi "to pray" (Hauer lists jalbarilambi as obsol. form)

Sol. tsalbará-

Mo. ǰalbari- "to pray; to join the palms of one's hands together in praying"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 5/

jali "wicked, traitorous; plot, intrigue"

Neg. ǰaliŋa "cunning"
Ulc. ǰaliku "cunning"
Nan. ǰalĭ "ruse, trick"

Mo. ǰali "ruse, craft, cunning, trick, deceit"

(Early Mo. → STu.) /S 700/

jambi "to exorcise an illness by the burning of charms and the recitation of incantations"

Mo. ǰalbari- "to pray; to join the palms of one's hands together in praying"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 246/

jamdan hiyan moo "sandalwood tree"

Mo. ǰandan, ǰandan "sandalwood, sandal tree"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimate source is Sanskrit candana.) /SSTM I, 250/

janggin "secretary in various government banners; adjutant (of a banner)"

Neg. ǰaŋgin	Ulc. jaŋgi(n)
Oroc. ǰaŋgæ, ǰaŋgi	Oroc. ǰaŋgē(n)
Ud. ǰaŋgę	Nan. ǰaŋgiã, ǰaŋgoj

(Some forms also have the meaning "orator" as well as "chief")

Mo. ǰanggi "chief of a sumu(n); military rank (commanding officers of various ranks)"

(Norman, Hauer, and Lessing all ascribe this word to a Chinese origin: chang-ching 章京 , which Mathews #182(d) defines as "secretaries attached to the grand council under the Manchu dynasty". In other words, this is not a Chinese term but a Manchusim, and I believe the Chinese is a transcription of the Manchu term, hence Ma. → Mo. and Chinese.) /K 2242/

janggûwan "pickled or preserved vegetables, melons, etc."

Mo. ǰiyang "spicy paste made from bean flour, soy"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 250/

janumbi "to be spiteful, to harbor enmity"

Mo. ǰanu- "to threaten, menace; to brandish; to stamp in anger; to bear a grudge"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

jari "a shaman's helper" note Ma. jarimbi "to chant prayers (of a shaman)"

Evenk. ǰara- "to sing"
Ev. ǰaramkan- "to answer, respond"
Oroc. ǰari- "to sing"
Ulc. ǰara- "to answer, respond"
Nan. ǰari- "to sing"

Mo. ———

Khalkha зайран Ordos ———
Kalm. ——— Buriat ———

(Due to the isolation of this form within Khalkha and the etymon base in Tungus, this is Tu. → Mo. (Khalkha).) /SSTM I, 252/

jarin "musk"

Sol. ǰār

Mo. ǰaγar, ǰiγar "musk, moschus"

Khalkha заар, заарь

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /K 2249/

jarkin coko "one name for the peewit"

Mo. ǰaraγ "snipe, woodcock"

Khalkha зараг

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with morpheme change in Ma. after borrowing.) /SSTM I, 253/

jasak "chief of a Mongol banner"

Mo. ǰasaγ "rule, government, administration; ruling prince of a banner; power; political structure"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 253/

jasigan "letter, mail; things posted to a distant place"
(Hauer has jasihan as obsol. form)

Mo. ǰakiy-a(n) "order, charge; instructions, advice; letter, correspondence; missive; made to order"

(Correspondence unfounded on phonological and etymon basis, note Mo. ǰaki- "to give instructions", Ma. jasimbi "to post, to mail, to send".) /SSTM I, 244/

jaya "a birchbark canoe (with a turned-up front)"

Evenk. ǰaw	Ulc. ǰaj
Sol. ǰawi	Orok. ǰai
Oroc. ǰāwi, ǰāi	Nan. ǰai

Mo. ǰabi "small boat"

(Sinor 1961 p. 170 suggests that this is Tu. → Mo.; certainly boat terms do not play a large role in native Mo. lexicon but the pattern of borrowing nevertheless suggests Mo. → Tu.; problematic.) /S 700/

je "affirmative interjection -- yes"

Evenk. ǰe
Ev. ǰā

Mo. ǰa "all right, yes, very good; well! now then"

(Like a and e, such interjections are of little value in comparative study and a correspondence cannot be established for such terms.) /SSTM I, 279/

jelbe "young of the salmon trout"

Evenk. ǰelben
Neg. ǰowlatkān
Ud. ǰauna

Mo. ǰebege, ǰibege "Siberian salmon (Salmo lenoc)"

(Early Mo. → Tu.; the reconstructed Mo. would be *ǰelbege.) /SSTM I, 283/

jemin "a dose"

Sol. ē
Ev. em

Mo. em "medicine, drug; witchcraft (obs.)"

(Proposed by Bang p. 17; problematic on phonological grounds, though the Sol. and Ev. forms are likely to be borrowings from Mo. independently of the Ma.)

jerde "sorrel horse"

Evenk. ǰērde
Sol. ǰērde

Mo. ǰegerde "red, chestnut"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2326/

jeren "Mongolian gazelle, zeren (Procapra gutturosa)"

Sol. ǰigrẽ, ǰegerẽ
Ud. ǰeli

Mo. ǰeger-e(n) "antelope"

Khalkha зээр(эн)

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 282/

jergi "rank, step, grade; order, sequence; layer, level; time; and so forth, et cetera"

Sol. ǰergi "rank, level"
Neg. ǰeġġi, ǰejgi "rank, layer"
Ulc. ǰergi "rank"
Nan. ǰergi "rank"

Mo. ǰerge "a) sort, kind, category; class, rank; level; order, degree; stage b) together, simultaneously c) and so on, et cetera, and others"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.. The Stu. forms, with the limited semantic range, may be from an early borrowing, with the Ma. meaning enhanced by recent contact with Mo.) /K 2326/

jerkišembi "to blind (of light); to dazzle, be dazzled"

Mo. ǰireski- "to flash; to appear intermittently"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM I, 286/

jijumbi "to draw lines, to draw, to write, to cast lots"

Evenk. ǰurū-
Sol. ǰurī-
Ud. ǰūnda-

Mo. ǰiru- "to draw (as a line or picture); to scratch; to strike (of a match)"

(Problematic on phonetic grounds; note jusumbi, nirumbi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 278/

jilgimbi (Hauer) "to scrape the hair from deer, roe and sheep hides"

Evenk. ǰūlgā- "to pull out"
Sol. ǰulgā- "to pull out (hair)"

Mo. ǰulγa- "to pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck; to weed; to cling to"

(While the Evenk. and Sol. are borrowings from Mo., the Ma. form is semantically and phonologically unfounded as a correspondence.) /SSTM I, 272/

jilkimbi (Hauer) "to beat flax, etc. to separate it from the boon"

Mo. ǰulγa- "to pull, pull out, tear by pulling, pluck; to weed; to cling to"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 272/

jimbi "to come" j. iriye- [iiye-] "to enter"

Evenk. ī- "to go into, enter; to invade"
Sol. ī- "to go into"
Ev. ī- "to go into, enter"
Neg. ī- "to go into, enter"
Oroc. ī- "to go into; to fall"
Ud. ī- "to go into"
Ulc. ī- "to go into"
Orok. ī- "to go into"
Nan. ī- "to go into"

Mo. ire- "to come, arrive, approach"

(Correspondence unfounded; phonologically Tu. *-r- remains as -r- in Ma., Orok., Sol., etc. (Benzing p. 47); semantically also it is dismissable.) /SSTM I, 293/

jirgambi "to be at ease, to enjoy leisure, to be comfortable; not to be employed in an official capacity"
J. dirgala- "to take pleasure"

Sol. ǰirgā- "to enjoy, take pleasure in"

Mo. ǰirγa- "to be joyful, rejoice, enjoy, be happy; to be prosperous; to set (of the sun); to sleep (hon.)"

(Early Mo. → Ma. (and J.) on pattern basis.) /K 2366/

jisiha "hazlenut tree"

Mo. ǰegesü(n), ǰigesü(n) "reed, rush, cane"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM 1, 260/

jiyanggiyûn "general; Manchu General-in-Chief" (Hauer lists jiyanjiyûn as obsol. form) J. ǰangiyun "general"

Sol. ǰaŋjū

Mo. ǰangǰun, ǰiyanggiyun "general, commander, commanding general, governor-general"

(May be separately borrowed Mo. ← Chinese → Ma. but the orthgraphy indicates Chinese → Mo. → Ma.; source is chiang-chün 將軍 .) /V 221/

jobolon "harm, trouble, disaster, calamity, sorrow, mourning, funeral"

Mo. ǰobalang "suffering, torment, torture, anxiety, sadness, melancholy; unhappiness; hardship"

(Problematic, may be internal development in Mo. and Ma. separately, cf. jobombi listed below.) /HCG 5/

jobombi "to suffer, to be in need; to worry, to be distressed"
J. ǰobogun "hardship"

Evenk. ǰoġor-
Sol. ǰowo-, ǰogo-
Ev. ǰoġ-
Neg. ǰobo-
Oroc. ǰobo-
Ud. ǰō-
Ulc. ǰobo-
Orok. ǰobbo-
Nan. ǰobo-

Mo. ǰoba- "to suffer, worry, grieve; to be tortured, tormented; to be in trouble"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /K 2378/

jok seme "abruptly, suddenly (of stopping)"

Mo. ǰoγ ki- "to startle, stop suddenly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. but onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I, 262/

joldombi "to buy back things one has given or sold to someone else, to redeem one's former goods"

Eve. ǰoldən- "to reward, compensate"

Mo. ǰoli- "to ransom, redeem"

(Mo. → Ma. but the dating is problematic.)/SSTM I, 263/

joolimbi, jolimbi "to redeem, to ransom"

Mo. ǰoli- "to ransom, redeem"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. ; note joldombi above.)/K 2387/

joran "amble (of a horse)" (Zakh. 1016 also lists juwaran)

Evenk. ǰirē
Ev. ǰērdən

Mo. ǰiruγ-a "ambling, fast amble; ambler"

Khalkha жороо

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2360/

joro "a type of arrow with a horn head"

Mo. ǰoruγ-a "arrow with a horn head"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 348/

jugun "road, way, path; the name for a province" J. ǰugu "road"

Evenk. ǰuġu "direction"
Sol. ǰug "direction"
Ev. ǰug "direction"

Mo. ǰüg "a) direction, cardinal point; course, in the direction of, towards b) barely enough..."

(The NTu. forms are recent borrowings from Mo.; the Ma. and J. are problematic on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 269/

jujumbi "to mark out a line with a needle in sewing"

Mo. ǰiru- "to draw (as a line or picture): to scratch; to strike (of a match)"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds; but note jijumbi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 278/

juken "everyday, ordinary, plain"

Mo. ǰüger, ǰüger-e "does not matter, all right, don't bother; so so; in vain, to no purpose; gratis, free of charge"
Note also Mo. ǰüger kümün "nice or agreeable person; ordinary person, without public office; person not belonging to or connected with something"

(Problematic on phonological grounds.) /SSTM I, 272/

juki (Zakh. 1001) "fairly well, rather well"

Evenk. jupkēki "sufficiently; exactly"
Neg. jepux "exactly"
Oroc. jupek "exactly"

Mo. ǰöb "correct, true, right; the right or correct side"

(The NTu. forms may be connected with the Mo. but the Ma. form is dismissable as a correspondenct.) /SSTM I, 275/

juktehen "temple, shrine"

Nan. ǰog "monastery"

Mo. ǰuu "monastery, lamasery"

(Dismissable on etymon grounds, note Ma. jukte "sacrifice, offering", juktembi "to offer sacrifice to". The Nan. form however appears to be connected with the Mo.) /SSTM I, 260/

julgen "good fortune, lucky chance"

Evenk. ǰol
Ev. ǰul

Mo. ǰol "good luck, fortune, good result, success"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, the morpheme addition in Ma. came after borrowing.) /SSTM I, 262/

julhû "reins" (Hauer has julgû as obsol. form)

Sol. ǰiluga

Mo. ǰiluγ-a "reins"

Khalkha жолоо
Buriat жолоо

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with morpheme change after borrowing.) /K 2346/

julhûmbi "to polish an arrow shaft with wood filings, hair, or lint"

Evenk. ǰūlu- "to plane, shave"

Mo. ǰülgü-, ǰilgü- "to wipe, polish, dust; to rub or brush against"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2415/

juliyambi "to spit out something one can't chew"

Mo. ǰulbu- "to shed skin; to lose hair; to run away, escape"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonological basis.)/SSTM I,272/

jumara, jumargan "suslik (Citellus dauricus)"

Sol. ǰumbrā, ǰumbur

Mo. ǰuram-a, ǰurum "suslik (a kind of ground squirrel), Citellus citillus"

Buriat зумбара

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with metathesis; the Sol. is a recent borrowing from Buriat.) /SSTM I, 275/

jumbi "to clench the teeth"

Evenk. ǰīn-

Mo. ǰaγu- "to bite; to seize with the teeth or jaws; to grip firmly with tongs etc."

Khalkha зуух

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 258/

jun "stove, hearth" Sibe 474 juN

Mo. ǰuuq-a "hearth, furnace, stove"
Khalkha зуух(ан)

(Problematic on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 275/

jun (Hauer) "left"

Evenk. ǰūn "east"
ǰeġin "left"
Sol. ǰūndulē "to the east"
ǰeŋgu "left"
Ev. ǰeġənde "left"
Neg. ǰiġiŋnidē "left"
Oroc. ǰēn'ǰe, ǰēn'ǰi "left"
Ulc. ǰuenǰi "left"
Orok. dewun'ǰi "left"
Nan. ǰeuŋgie "left"

Mo. ǰegün "east, eastern, oriental; left"
Khalkha зүүн
Buriat зүүн

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; an earlier borrowing with the meaning of "east" is present in some of the other Tu. languages.) /SSTM I, 282/

jurcembi "to disobey, to go against, to go against one's word; to turn back on, to oppose (in battle)"

Mo. ǰöriče-, ǰörči- "to disobey; to be obstinate; to do the opposite; to violate"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

jurgan "line, column, row; the right, loyalty, duty, devotedness"

Mo. ǰiruγ-a, ǰuruγ-a "line"
<u>also</u> Mo. ǰirum "a) line (obs.); established order, system, regime; code of laws..."
Khalkha зураа <u>also</u> зурам

(Mo. → Ma. but dating is problematic; the morpheme change presumably occurred in Ma. after borrowing, cf. <u>julgen</u>.) /SSTM I, 278/

juru "pair, doubled; even (number)" J. ǰuwe "two"

Evenk. ǰūr	Ud. ǰū
Sol. ǰūr	Ulc. ǰuel
Ev. ǰēr	Orok. dū
Neg. ǰūl	Nan. ǰuer
Oroc. ǰū	

Mo. ǰirin "two (used in ancient texts in reference to ladies)"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 28/

jusumbi "to draw a line (on paper)"

Mo. ǰiru- "to draw (as a line or picture); to scratch; to strike (of a match)"

(Problematic on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 278/

juwari "summer" J. ǰuwa erin "summer"

Evenk. ǰuġa	Ud. ǰua
Sol. ǰuga	Ulc. ǰua, ǰuwa
Ev. ǰuwuni, ǰuuni	Orok. duwa
Neg. ǰoa, ǰowa, ǰoġa	Nan. ǰoa
Oroc. ǰuwa	

Mo. ǰun "summer; in summer"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 701/

juwembi "to transport, to ship, to transfer, to move"

Evenk. ǰuġū	Oroc. ǰusi-
Ev. ǰuġu-	Ud. ǰū-, ǰūgi-
Neg. ǰuwu-, juġu-	Orok. dūri-

Mo. ǰöge-, jögege- "to move something from one place to another, transport; to gather, collect; to acquire, possess (hist.)"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis.) /PVG 28/

kabari "a Pekinese dog" (Hauer has kasari as obsol. form)

Mo. qaba, qab "little house dog"

(Direction of loan problematic; Hauer p. 566 lists the Chinese form kapakou (also hapakou) 哈叭狗 which is clearly a representation of a foreign word and therefore is not the ultimate source. It is further most unlikely that the Mo. form has any connection with Mo. qabar, qamar "nose, muzzle, snout" as SSTM vol. I p. 357 suggests.) /SSTM I, 357/

kabari "a growth on the noses of horses and dogs"

Mo. qabar, qamar "a) nose, muzzle, snout, trunk of an elephant b) anything suggestive of a nose..."

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 357/

kabcihûn "flat, level"

Evenk. kapči "pressed"
Ud. kapči "layer"

Mo. qabči "flat, straight, long and narrow"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; note hafirambi and kapahûn listed separately.) /S 675/

kadalambi "to administer, to manage, to control, to rule"

Mo. qada- "to drive in, knock in; to nail; to inscribe or enter one's name on a register; to insert something in a text; to get stuck"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 359/

kai "sentence particle showing emphasis"

Mo. qai "interj. expressive of grief, dissatisfaction, disapproval, or doubt"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 361/

kaidu, kaideo "lone (horse), single (horse)"

Mo. qayidaγ "lone, single; isolated elevation; peak rising from a plain; milch animal whose young has been weaned or who has died"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 362/

kaici "border"

Mo. qayiči(n) "boundary, border; frontier"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 363/

kailun "a brown horse with black mane and tail"

Mo. qaliγun "brown, isabella; color of horses which may vary from yellowish white to yellow mixed with black, with black mane and tail and a black band on the spine"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with metathesis in the Ma. after borrowing.) /S 675/

kajambi "to break with the teeth"

Mo. qaǰa- "to bite, gnaw, nibble"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 361/

kakûr kikûr "(onom.) the sound made by ropes and pegs when securing a load on a wagon"

Mo. qaqur qugur "onomat. expressive of cracking, crunching, or crackling"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 364/

kalbin "the lower part of the belly"

Evenk. kalbiŋ "subcutaneous fat on a reindeer"

Mo. qarbing "the fat on the abdomen of an animal; big belly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 845/

kalimu "whale"

Evenk. kalim
Ev. kalin
Neg. kalim
Oroc. kālima, kālma
Ul. kalima
Ulc. kalma
Orok. kalima
Nan. kālima

Mo. qalimu "whale"

(Direction of loan is problematic. The phonology of the Tungus indicates this is not native stock in Tu. but it is also unlikely to be native to Mo.) /S 676/

kalja, kalca "a white stripe or a bare strip on the head of an animal; white spot on a horse's nose; bald head"

Mo. qalǰa "frontal band or stripe for decoration; clearing in a forest"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 675/

kalka "shield" (Hauer has kalan and kalkan as obsol. forms)

Mo. qalq-a "shield, screen, bulwark; protection, patronage"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /K 795/

kaltara "a brown horse with white around the mouth and eyes"

Mo. qaltas "half"

(Dismissable on semantic basis. The Ma. is instead a recent borrowing from Mo. qaltar "variegated, spotted, blemished; having a white muzzle".) /SSTM I, 368/

kaltarambi "to slip (and fall)"

Mo. qalturi- "to glide, slide, slip"
Khalkha халтирах

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 675/

kaltu multu "just, almost, almost within reach but not quite"

Mo. qaltu mөltө "hardly, almost, barely; carelessly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 675/

kambi "to surround, to lay siege; to obstruct, to ward off, to stop, to impede" Sibe 1751 qamə "to dam"

Evenk. kā- "to close"

Mo. qaɣa- "to close; to block, keep out (as wind, rain); to attack from all sides; to surround, besiege; to serve in an official capacity"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 675/

kamcimbi "to place close together, to be together, to be in the same place, to serve concurrently, to act at the same time, to be placed together"

Evenk. kamuj- Ulc. kamurǰu-
Neg. kamuǰ- Orok. kamuj-
Oroc. kamǰi- Nan. kamori-
Ud. kamul "together"

Mo. qamsu-, qamsa-, qamtu- "to be united, combined, incorporated; to come together; to be together, to work jointly or collectively"

note also Mo. qamji- "to do something together; to aid, help"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 676/

kandahan "Manchurian moose (Alces alces)"

Evenk. kandaġā, kandaha

Mo. qandaɣai "elk, sort of moose"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 675/

kanggarambi "to slip slightly; to pierce the skin with an arrow"

Mo. qangɣara- "to touch lightly; to brush in flight, graze (of a missile)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 374/

kanggili "slim, shapely, possessing a fine delicate build"

Mo. qanggiyal "tall and slender"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 374/

kanggir "(onom.) the sound of metal or porcelain falling"

Evenk. kaŋgir, kaŋir
Sol. xaŋir
Oroc. kaŋgor-kaŋgor
Orok. kaŋgir

Mo. qanggir "onomat. descriptive of a rattling or ringing sound"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 374/

kangsambi "to shave hair off a pelt"

Evenk. kaŋnā- "to plane, shave"
Sol. xandā- "to shave off"
Orok. kanada- "to plane, shave off"

Mo. qangsa- "to remove or scrape hair from a skin"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the other Tu. forms by another route.) /K 729/

kangsiri "the top of the nose ridge just below the eyes" (Hauer lists kangsari as obsol. form)

Mo. qangsiyar "bridge of the nose"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /S 675/

kangtarambi "to rise up in front, especially a cart that is loaded too heavily at the rear; to tie the reins of a horse to the pommel of a saddle to keep the horse from wandering"

Ev. kantəraw- "to tighten"

Mo. qantar- "to tie the bridle of a horse to the saddle; to pull the reins tight"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis despite widening of semantic range in Ma.) /K 724/

kani "related, of the same or similar kind"

Evenk. kani "friend"
Ev. kān'i "double, twin..."

Mo. qani "friend; companion, partner; husband"

(Problematic semantically.) /S 675/

kapahun "flat, compressed, pressed down, small in stature"
(Hauer lists kapihûn and kapiyahûn as obsol. forms)

Mo. qabčiγ "flat, straight, long and narrow"

(Problematic; if this is Mo. → Ma. it is extremely recent despite the morpheme change in Ma., cf. hafirambi, kabcihûn listed separately.) /SSTM 1, 379/

kaparambi "to be pressed flat, to be pressed together, to be flat"

Evenk. kapta- "to make even"
Ev. kapta- "to flatten; to press"

Mo. qabtai- "to become flat"

(Problematic; cf. hafirambi listed separately.) /PVG 43/

kara "black (of animals)" Sibe 2428 qar "black (of a horse)"

Evenk. kara

Mo. qar-a "a) black, dark, obscure b) unrefined, common, plain, vulgar; rough, unpolished c) profane, secular..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 6/

karambi "to look down from a height, to gaze into the distance"

Evenk. karaj- "to watch over, guard"
Ev. karaj- "to watch over, guard"
Ulc. kargaču- "to observe"
Orok. karga- "to observe"
Nan. kargači- "to observe"

Mo. qara- "to look at, glance, watch, observe; to regard, consider; to look after; to face"

(Problematic semantically.) /S 676/

karcambi "to run into, to collide with, to bump into"

Ulc. kāl- "to come close; to attack"
Orok. kal- "to sneak up to"
Nan. kāl- "to come close to, approach"

Mo. qala- (K 787) "to approach, come close to; to draw near in order to look at"

(Dismissable; the STu. forms may however be connected with the Mo.) /SSTM I, 369/

kargama "croup of a horse or mule" (Hauer has karhama as obsol. form)

Mo. qarγam "croup, rump (of a horse)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /K 844/

kargimbi, karkimbi "to break off, to cut off evenly, to pluck, to pull (grass)"

Evenk. kirga-

Mo. kirγa- "to cut off, shear, clip"

Khalkha хяргах

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 398/

karkambi "to scrape with a wooden bamboo stick"

Mo. qaru- "to scrape, plane"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /R 89/

karmaji (Zakh. 263) "dishonest"

Mo. qaγurmaγči, qaγurmači "deceiver, liar; imposter; slanderer; seducer; deceitful, hypocritical; counterfeit"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM I, 382/

karu "retribution, recompense, reward, revenge; gratitude"

Oroc. kai "pay"
Ulc. karu(n), xaru(n), "pay, recompense"
Orok. karu(n) "pay, recompense"
Nan. karõ, karũ "pay, recompense"

Mo. qariγu "answer, response; return; retribution; back, in return"

Khalkha хариу

(Mo. → STu. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. qari- "to return".) /S 676/

katambi "to dry"

Mo. qata- "to dry, dry up; to become hard; to waste away physically"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 675/

kati "brocade embroidered in silk"

Mo. qadqu-, qadqa- "a) to pierce, stab, prick; to embroider; to pin; to sting, bite (as snakes or insects), peck; to treat with acupuncture; to have a sharp pain b) to incite trouble; to excite, spur, urge, stimulate"

(Problematic; the Ma. form likely borrowed from Mo. but the donor form is unattested.) /SSTM I, 359/

keb seme "exhausted; falling, dropping"

Mo. kebte- "to lie down, recline"

(Dismissable on structural grounds.) /SSTM I, 442/

kecu "fierce, cruel" (Hauer has kecun as obsol. form)

Orok. xeču "hard, tough..."

Mo. kečegüü, kečigüü, kečüü "difficult, hard, vehement; bold, courageous; terrible, fierce; extremely"

Khalkha хэцүү

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2489/

kederšembi "to hurt with harsh words, to attack verbally" (Hauer has kederešembi as obsol. form)

Ev. kedərgə-

Mo. kederle- "to rage, to be testy; to be obstinate; to contradict"

(Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. keder "testy, irascible, cross, quarrelsome".) /SSTM I, 443/

keibisu "carpet, rug" (Hauer lists kebisu, kebsisu and kebsu as obsol. forms)

Mo. kebis "rug, carpet"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2452/

keire "a dark brown horse with a black tail and mane"

Evenk. kojor "bay, roan"

Mo. keger "bay or chestnut (color of horses)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /PVG 66/

kejine "a while, a long time, a lot"

Mo. keǰiyenei, keǰiyen-e "since long ago, a long time ago; some time ago; already, old, of long standing"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 677/

kekerembi "to belch"

Ulc. kexereču- Nan. kēreči-

Mo. kekere- "to belch, eruct"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 445/

keku "the uvula"

Oroc. kexe "hard palate"
Ulc. kekere
Nan. xexere "hard palate"
" keukučẽ "uvula"

Mo. keüken kele "uvula" note Mo. keüken "child", kele "tongue"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM 1, 445/

kekutu "a variety of cuckoo"
also Ma. kekuhe "asiatic cuckoo (cuculus canorus)"

Evenk. kukti	Ud. keku
Ev. kekučen	Ulc. keku
Neg. kekku	Orok. kekku, keu
Oroc. kekku	Nan. kekū

Mo. kökege, köküge, kökei, kökügekei "cuckoo"

(Onomat. in origin and therefore problematic as a correspondence.) /SSTM I, 426/

kelfimbi "to lean, to tilt; to be about to set (the sun), to be past the zenith" (Hauer has kelfiyembi as obsol. form)

Evenk. kelbun-

Mo. kelbei- "to lean or be inclined to one side; to list, careen; to deviate"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the reconstructed donor form would be a MMo. *kelpei- due to the -f- of the Manchu form.) /SSTM I, 446/

keltehe "golden carp"

Evenk. keltege
Ud. kaktę'æ
Nan. kelteke

Mo. keltege "crucian, crucian-carp (fish)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the Ud. is puzzling because it indicates an older phonology. The Nan. may be a borrowing from Manchu.) /SSTM I, 447/

kemun "measure, dimension, model, ruler, rule, regulation; a marker beyond which one is not allowed to step when competing in archery; a point beyond which one is not allowed to go"

Mo. kem "measure, size, proportion; limits; measure of time, term"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis as well as on phonological basis. The seeming broadening of the semantic scope in Manchu is probably due to a painstaking lexicographer rather than to the strength of the word in Manchu itself.) /S 676/

kenje "small in stature, stunted"

Evenk. kenǰe "(summer) lamb"

Mo. kenǰe "aftermath, rowen; late-grown crop, child born to old parents; weak child"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 449/

kercimbi "to cut up or dissect a slaughtered animal, to butcher"

Evenk. kerči-
Neg. ketči-
Ulc. kerču-, kerči-
Orok. keren-
Nan. kerči-

Mo. kerči- "to cut, mince, slice, carve; to make incisions, notch"

(Early Mo. → Tu.) /K 2518/

keremu "rampart, walled enclosure or city, wall made of mud and bricks, citadel"

Sol. xerem

Mo. kerem "mound, wall, rampart; walled enclosure or city; fortress, citadel, castle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis; the Sol. is borrowed by another route. See also heren listed separately.) /S 677/

kersen "the skin and flesh between the breast and front legs on sheep and wild animals"

Mo. kerseng "breast (of an animal), brisket"

(Problematic, the Ma. kersu, hersu "the flesh from the breast of a sheep" is obviously related to the above forms, and until that relationship is clarified a direction for loan will not be clear.) /K 2516/

keru "a young crow"

Evenk. kere

Mo. keriy-e(n) "crow; raven, rook"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. The final vowel of the Ma. form remains problematic.) /S 677/

kesembureo, kesemburu "idler, sluggard, scoundrel"

Mo. kesege-, kečege- "to correct, chastise, discipline; to tame, subdue"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 455/

kesi "kind act (from above), favor, grace, kindness, graciousness"

Evenk. kesēmī "gift"	Ud. kesi
kehē "happiness"	Ulc. kesi
Neg. kesī	Orok. kesi
Oroc. kesi	Nan. kesi

Mo. kesig "grace, favor, blessing; good luck or good fortune; turn (in one's place, time, or opportunity in a scheduled or alternating order)"

(Problematic; there is no doubt that the form is a borrowing from Mongol, this is clear on the basis of the phonology for the Tungus forms; cf. Tsintsius p. 194 on intervocalic -s- in Tungus, where the Ud. form should yield -h- in that position. The dating of the loan is not clear, as, despite the distribution within Tu., the forms appear to be recent and are possibly loans through Manchu. See sejen listed separately for a case of a Ma. loan to the other Tu. forms.) /HCG 5/

ki "breath, vapor; anger"

Evenk. kej
Sol. xī

Mo. kei "a) air, wind, atmosphere, gas b) mental, psychic c) empty, idle; in vain"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese (*k'i>) ch'i 氣 .) /S 677/

kicembi "to strive, to exert oneself, to be diligent, to apply oneself, to concentrate on, to be intent on, to study" J. kičehei "to use"

Evenk. kiče- "to save, be thrifty"
Ev. kičej- "to save, be thrifty"
Ulc. kiče- "to save, be thrifty"
Nan. kiče- "to save, be thrifty"

Mo. kičiye- "to exert oneself, apply oneself to; to make an effort, endeavor, strive; to arrange; to take care, be cautious; to guard against, beware of"

(Recent or early Mo. → Ma.; it is not clear if the J. form actually belongs with this group.) /S 677/

kijimi "trepang, sea slug"

Mo. kijim "trepang, holothurium"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis and on phonological basis as well; it is not clear why Mongol would be a source for Manchu of terms relating to the sea, however.) /K 2543/

kilin "a unicorn, chilin" J. kilin "unicorn"

Mo. kiling "the so-called unicorn of Chinese mythology; rhinoceros"

(Probably Chinese → Mongol → Ma./J.; source is Chinese (*Ki-lin>) ch'i-lin 麒 麟 .) /SSTM I, 393/

kima "Szechuan hemp (Sida ziliaefolia)"

Mo. kim-a "a kind of hemp; the fiber of hemp"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 465/

kimulembi "to harbor enmity, to harbor a grudge, to get revenge"

Nan. kīmulē-

Mo. kimura- "to fall into decay, deteriorate; to be upset, be disorderly; to conflict, clash"

(Problematic phonologically and semantically.) /SSTM I, 394/

kinumbi "to loathe, to despise"

Mo. kinu-, kina- "to have a secret grudge; to desire the death of a person"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2522/

kirsa, hirsa, hirho "corsac, fox of the steppes"

Evenk. kirsa "polar fox"
Ev. kɐrsa, kɐrha "polar fox"
Oroc. xasa

Mo. kirsa "steppe fox, Alopex corsac"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the other Tu. forms are borrowed by a different route.) /K 2553/

kitukan (Hauer) "scissors for making models from feathers"

Evenk. koto "knife"
Sol. koto "knife"
Ev. kotokān "knife"
Neg. koto "knife"
Nan. koto "knife"

Mo. kituγ-a, qutaγ-a, qutuγ-a "knife, knife-like cutting tool or weapon"

Khalkha хутаг

(Early Mo. → Tungus.) /SSTM I, 400,418/

kobdon "a container for arrows or tools"

Evenk. kobdu
Neg. koptin
Ulc. kortu(n)
Orok. kuptu(n)
Nan. koptõ

Mo. qobdu "case; long and narrow box; quiver"

(Early Mo. → Tungus.) /K 899/

kobi "concave place, depression; the depressions on both sides of the nose"

Mo. qobil "groove"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 402/

kobkolombi "to remove (paper that has been stuck to some surface)"

Evenk. kopko-
Ev. kopkal-
Neg. kopko-
Oroc. koppo-
Orok. kōpo-

Mo. qobqul- "to peel, flay"

(Mo. → Ma. (and Tungus), the dating of loan is problematic.) /SSTM I, 414/

kodo "the third stomach of sheep and cows that is eaten filled with blood"

Evenk. kotōdo
Sol. xodōdo "bladder"
Ulc. kuta
Nan. kota

Mo. qoduγudu(n) "stomach"

Khalkha ходоод(он)

(Problematic; the Evenk. and Sol. are clearly recent loans from Mongol but the donor form for the Ma. and STu. is not clear.) /S 677/

koika "scalp; short plants growing thickly together that resemble human hair"

Mo. quyiq-a "scalp; animal skin from which the hair has been singed"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 853/

koikoljombi "to behave in a reckless or peculiar fashion"

Mo. quyiqulǰa- "to show insolence or arrogance; to behave or act improperly, indecently"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 404/

kokirambi "to harm, to damage, to injure, to wound"

Mo. qokira-, qokida- "to be damaged, hurt; to suffer a loss; to perish, be ruined, devastated; to become dry and hard; to wither"

(Mo. → Ma. on etymological basis, cf. Mo. qoki "scarce, scanty; unfortunate; loss, failure, harm". Loan is recent.) /SSTM I, 404/

kolambi "to skin, to remove the tile from a roof"

Evenk. kōlū-
Sol. xōl-, xōli- "to tear off"
Ev. kolkᵽ-

Mo. qaγul- "to peel off, skin, flay; to copy"

Khalkha хуулах

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the NTu. forms are borrowings by a different route. Note also kuwalambi listed separately.)/S 677/

kolongso "bad body ordor, the odor of the armpits"

Mo. qulungsu(n), qulungγusu(n), qulumsu(n) "unpleasant odor from the armpits"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 408/

koloi "channel, furrow"

Evenk. kōlaj "type of curved pipe"
Sol. kualán, xuála

Mo. qoγulai "throat, gullet; pharynx; voice; tube, pipe; chimney; gorge; wide valley between two mountain ridges; ravine..."

Khalkha хоолой

(Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis, probably a recent loan; cf. holo listed separately.) /SSTM I, 406/

kolor seme "too large, loose fitting (shoes, boots, etc.)"

Mo. qolki-, qolkida- "to move loosely; to be too loose; to move to and fro; to loaf about"

(Problematic due to structural differences between the Ma. and Mo.) /SSTM I, 407/

komo "a felt blanket placed under a camel's saddle" (Hauer lists komon as obsol. form)

Evenk. kōm

Mo. qom "piece of felt placed under the pack on a camel; horse-collar"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /K 860/

komso "few, little, a little"

Mo. qomsa "little, few, not much or many; scarcely, rarely"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 448/

konggir kanggir "(onom.) the sound of many small bells"

Neg. koŋir-koŋir
Ulc. koŋgor-koŋgor
Orok. koŋgę̄rr-koŋgę̄rr
Nan. koŋgor-koŋgor

Mo. qonggir qanggir "onomat. expressive of the sound of many little bells"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.)

konggohon "sunken (evey); emaciated"

Mo. qongqur "a hollow, cavity, pit, dent, cavern; depression, gully, dented"

(Mo. → Ma. but period of loan is problematic.) /SSTM I, 411/

konggoro "Isabella colored, an Isabella horse"

Evenk. kongōr

Mo. qongγur "fallow, yellow-bay, chestnut (of a horse)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 411/

kongsimbi "to speak nonsense in a loud voice"

Mo. qongsiyar "muzzle, beak; trunk of an elephant; snout, nose; toe of a shoe or a boot"

(Dismissable on semantic basis. Likely a recent borrowing from Mo. γungsi-, γunsi- "to talk through the nose or with a nasal twang; to snuffle" which in Khalkha is гунших with the additional meaning of "to blather, to talk on and on". Ultimately of onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 413/

konjosu "the end of the large intestine" (Hauer lists konjisu as obsol. form)

Mo. qoškinaγ "colon (anat.); the anus"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 409/

kooli "rule, norm, statute, codex, decree, law; custom, habit; document; method"

Ulc. kāli
Nan. koli

Mo. qauli "usage, custom; law, rule, regulation, statute, decree; codex; punishment"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /K 716/

korcin (Hauer) "Mongol tribe composed of six banners in eastern Inner Mongolia"

Mo. qorčin "Khorchin, a prominent tribe in the Jirim and Chao Uda leagues of Eastern Mongolia"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 417/

kordon "a person good on skis or snowshoes"

Mo. qurdun "quick, fast, rapid, swift, nimble, prompt; speed"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 468/

koro "sorrow, regret, damage, injury, offense, wound"

Ulc. koru(n)
Nan. kōro

Mo. qour-a, qour [qoor-a, qoor] "harm, evil, malice; embitterment; poison"

(Problematic from a semantic standpoint; note horon listed separately.) /S 677/

ku "soot (from cooking)"

Mo. köge, kö, kögege "soot; obstacle, hindrance; trouble"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 678/

kubumbi "to edge, to add a border to, to hem"

Evenk. kuwēle-

Mo. köbe- "to tack, baste (in sewing)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 678/

kubun "cotton"

Evenk. kubun, kuwun "fluff, down"
Sol. xöwoš'i š'iǰaga "padded clothes"

Mo. köbüng, köbeng "cotton, cotton yarn"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2575/

kucung seme (Zakh. 294) "diligently, ardently, zealously, without rest or pause (of work)"

Mo. küčü(n) "power, force (also military), strength; effort; energy; validity"

(Problematic; the Ma. is a sound representational structure, completely different from the Mo., but nevertheless cannot be dismissed outright.) /SSTM I, 439/

kufuyen "crisp, brittle, the pleasant sound of someone chewing brittle things"

Mo. kebereg, keberig "brittle, fragile, frail, flimsy, not solid, not durable"

(Problematic phonologically.)/SSTM I,/440/

kuku "blue-gray, gray"

Evenk. kuku
Sol. xŏxŏ wāra "blue"

Mo. kŏke "blue, sky-blue; green; ash-colored, dark (of face)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 426/

kukulu, kukule "the tuft on the head of a bird; the hair in the ears of horses and mules"

Mo. kökŭl, kŏkel "long hair, braid; forelock of a horse; crest of a bird"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 427/

kuluk (Hauer) "enduring horse"

Mo. kŭlŭg, kŏlŭg "a strong and swift horse"

(Mo. → Ma.; the final consonant in Ma. indicates this is a Mongolism rather than an assimilated word within the language.) /S 678/

kumbi "to swell, to bloat"

Evenk. kuwudek "mound, knoll"
Ulc. kubdu "hilly"
Nan. kubdū "knoll; hilly"

Mo. köge- "to swell, distend, intumesce; to foam"

Buriat (in a number of dialects) xeexɔ
Khalkha xeex

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the connection of the Ma. to the other Tungus forms, if any, is unclear.) /SSTM I, 422/

kumdu "empty, hollow"

Evenk. keŋdi, keŋde
Ev. keŋdej

Mo. kŏndei, kŏndŭi "hollow, empty; cavity, hole, gorge, ravine"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the dissimilation of the nasal consonant in Ma. is anomalous.) /K 2566/

kundu "respect, honor"

Evenk. kundu

Mo. kündü "a) heavy, weighty; weight, gravity b) difficult, hard, grave; serious; severe; important; respected, honored; respect, authority"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /K 2568/

kunseun "provisions (for a journey)" (Hauer lists kunusun as obsol. form)

Sol. xunsũ

Mo. künesü(n), künüsü(n) "provisions, allowances, ration"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 477/

kunga (Zakh. 283) "pit"

Mo. qongqur "a hollow, cavity, pit, dent, cavern; depression, gully; dented"

(Problematic phonologically; note konggohon listed separately.) /SSTM I, 433/

kungguhun "having sunken eyes" (Hauer has kungguhen as obsol. form)

Mo. köngker, köngkür, küngker "low (of country); sunken, deep-set (of eyes); having a high and bulging forehead and sunken eyes; ravine, gully"

(Problematic; note konggohon listed separately.) /K 2574/

kurbumbi "to turn around, to turn over, to toss and turn (while sleeping)"

Evenk. kurbu-
Sol. xurbu-, xubbu-

Mo. körbe-, körbü-, körbi- "to turn over, turn from one side to another; to topple; to turn somersaults; to change; to break one's promise"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /PVG 107/

kurdun "a Buddhist cycle, samsara"

Sol. xurdu

Mo. kürdü(n) "wheel, circle, cycle; prayer wheel or cylinder; circle of transmigration, the rebirths..."

(Mo. → Ma. on semantic and pattern basis; a recent loan.) /S 679/

kuren "squadron, detachment; establishment, office, depository" (Zakh. lists kuran as a variant form - possibly this variant is contaminated by Mo. qural "meeting, gathering")

Evenk. kurę̄ Neg. kurī
Ev. kur'ę̄ Orok. kurei, kurej

Mo. küriy-e(n) "anything girding, encircling, or enclosed; fence; enclosure, yard; camp; monastery; border, edging..."

(Early Mo. → STu.) /S 679/

kuren "chestnut-colored, dark brown"

Evenk. kurin

Mo. küreng, küren, kürin "dark brown, maroon (esp. of fur); deep violet"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 679/

kurene "weasel" (Hauer lists kurne as obsol. form)

Sol. xurene

Mo. küren-e "skunk, polecat; weasel"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 437/

kurume "a coat or garment worn over the outside of one's other garments "

Nan. kurme

Mo. kürm-e "short jacket (worn by men over their long gown at formal occasions"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2650/

kutulembi "to lead (animals)"

Sol. xutulē-
Ulc. kutulu- "to drag"
Orok. kutu- "to drag"

Mo. kötül-, kötel- "to lead by the hand, lead; to conduct, guide; to instruct"

(Early Mo. → STu.) /S 678/

kûbulimbi "to change, to become altered (in appearance), to revolt"

Evenk. kewilget "werewolf"
Sol. xubil-

Mo. qubil- "to change, be transformed, take another form; to be reincarnated; to form an abcess, become infected; to deteriorate"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 442/

kûca "a male goat"

Evenk. kuča
Sol. xusa

Mo. quča(n) "ram; uncastrated lamb"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 678/

kûdargan "crupper (on a horse)" (Hauer has kûdarhan as obsol. form) J. hudila "crupper"

Evenk. kudurga

Mo. qudurγ-a(n) "crupper; breeching (harness)"

Khalkha хуларга

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the J. form may represent an earlier loan.) /S 678/

kûlan "a yellow horse with black tail and mane"

Mo. qula "fawn-colored, tawny, bay, having a black stripe along the spine; with black tail and mane (horse)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 678/

kûlan "wild ass"

Mo. qulan, kŭlen "wild ass of the Asiatic steppe, kulan, Equus hemionus"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 922/

kûru "a type of sour cake made from cow or mare's milk and liquor"

Evenk. kurunu

Mo. qurud "a variety of Mongolian cheese"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /K 966/

kûtambi "to mix"

Mo. qudqu- "to stir, mix, mingle, blend; to put in disorder; to agitate; to embroil; to stir up trouble"

(Problematic phonologically; note kûthumbi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 440/

kûthumbi "to mix, to mix up, to stir, to stir up, to mingle, to confuse"

Evenk. kutku-
Nan. kotoxo-

Mo. qudqu- "to stir, mix, mingle, blend; to put in disorder; to agitate; to embroil; to stir up trouble"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 440/

kûwa "light-yellow (horse)"

Evenk. kuwas, kuġas

Mo. quva, qova, qou-a, quu-a, uquv-a, qu-a, quɣ-a "light yellow, chestnut, bay; sallow, pale"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 678/

kûwalambi "to skin, to peel"

Mo. qaɣul- "to peel off, skin, flay; to copy"

Khalkha хуулах

(Apparently recent Mo. → Ma. with metathesis in the Manchu after borrowing.) /S 678/

kûwaran "enclosure, encirclement, corral; camp (military), barracks; workshop, plant, factory; market place; yard of a monastery or temple"

Mo. quvaran "barracks"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. despite the presence of the Ma. verb kûwarambi "to surround, to encircle" and the absence of a verb form in Mo.; cf. TÜ. (ED 586) kuvra:- "to come together, assemble" which indicates the origin is Turkic and hence borrowed into Ma. through Mo.) /V 299/

laba "a horn"

Mo. labai "seashell, conch; conch (as musical instrument), trumpet"

(Proposed by Bang, p. 18; as there is no doubt that these words are connected but evidence of loan direction is lacking, the correspondence is to be classified problematic.)

labari "canopy over a Buddha-image"

Mo. blabri, labri "canopy, palanquin"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis for Buddhist terminology; source is ultimately from Tibetan bla bre.)/SSTM I, 484/

labdu "many, much; wide, extensive (learning)"

Nan. labdo

Mo. labta "exactly, precisely; effectively; indubitably; sincerely"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 485/

labsan "snowflake"

Mo. labsa "large snowflakes"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 485/

labsimbi "to gulp down, to devour"

Mo. labsi- "to eat greedily; to champ"

(Problematic due to onomat. influence.) /K 1959/

laha "catfish"

Ulc. laxa
Nan. laxa

Mo. laq-a "sheatfish"

(Early Mo.→ STu. on basis of distribution, but since Mo. phonology does not historically permit an initial l- this word must be recent in Mo., hence problematic in regard to dating of loan.) /SSTM I, 487/

lebenggi "swampy, marshy, damp, muddy"

Evenk. lewē
Ev. liwin "puddle, pool"
Neg. lewē
Orok. lemu

Mo. lobqu "very wet land which is difficult to plough; wet soil or sand into which one sinks when walking"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM I, 514/

lehele "prostitute, whore; illegitimate, born of a whore"

Mo. nekelei "bastard; illegitimate (of a child)"

Khalkha нэглий, нэхлий
Kalm. nek°lɛ̄

(Ma. → Mo. on phonological and semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 515-516/

lehembi "to protest a fait accompli, to appeal, to complain, to regret"

Sol. nexēldi- "to pursue, strive after"

Mo. neke- "to claim, demand; to exact; to pursue in order to seize; to seek"

Khalkha нэхэх

(Problematic semantically.) /SSTM I, 515,516)

lingse "a type of thin satinlike material, damask"

Mo. lingse "a kind of thin silk"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is ling-tzŭ 綾子 .) /SSTM I, 498

liyan peng (Hauer) "lotus"

Mo. lingqu-a "lotus, water lily, nenuphar, Nymphaea nulumbo, Nelumbium speciosum"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; lien-p'eng 蓮蓬 → Ma., lien-hua 蓮花 → Mo.) /SSTM I, 501/

liyoo "fodder, forage" (Hauer has lioo as obsol. form)

Mo. liu "fodder for horses consisting of beans mixed with grain"

(Probably borrowed separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese liao 料 .) /SSTM I, 504/

lo "silk gauze, crepe"

Mo. lo "a kind of silk gauze"

(May be separately borrowed from Chinese; source is Chinese lo 羅 .) /SSTM I, 500/

lokdo lakda "clumsy, awkward"

Mo. loɣtur laɣtar "heavily, clumsily, with difficulty (of the movements of fat people)"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /K 1968/

lolo "the anklebone of a pig used as a die"

Mo. lolui "pig's anklebone"

(Problematic; both forms may be borrowings from an unidentified third language.) /K 1967/

longto "halter, headstall" (Hauer has longtu as obsol. form)

Nan. loŋto

Mo. noɣtu "halter

Khalkha нохт

(Problematic. The Ma. may well be a borrowing from Chinese lung-t'ou 籠頭 "halter", while the Mo. could be a borrowing either directly from Chinese or through the Ma.) /SSTM I, 504/

losa (Hauer) "mule" (Hauer also lists lose as obsol. form, and then lists loose as an obsol. form of the former)
J. losa "mule"

Sol. lɔ̄s
Nan. loso

Mo. luusa, laγusa "mule"

(Perhaps separately Mo. ← Chinese → Manchu/Jurchen; source is lo-tzŭ 騾子 .) /SSTM I, 505/

lukdu "dense"

Ud. luktu	Orok. lubdi
Ulc. lugdu	Nan. lugǰi

Mo. lüg "onomat. describing a muffled, heavy sound"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM I, 508/

luksimbi "to throb (of a festered wound or sore)"

Evenk. loksuj-

Mo. loγsi- (K p. 1968) "to feel a shooting pain"

Ordos luɣǵsi-
Kalm. luksɨ xр

(Problematic due to sound representational nuance of the forms.) /K 1968/

ma "here! (said when handing something to another person)"

Evenk. ma	Ulc. ma
Ev, ma	Orok. mā
Neg. ma	Nan. ma
Ud. ma	

Mo. mai, ma "exclam. here, take it"

(This form exists in TÜ. as well, (ED 765) ma:/me: "here you are! take this!"; as no direction for loan can be determined it must be termed a pre-loan (and hence Altaic) correspondence.) /S 698/

madari (Zakh. 871) "sea monster"

Mo. matar "monster; sea-monster; crocodile"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis; source ultimately is Sanskrit makara.) /SSTM I, 520/

mahala "hat, cap--especially the round fur winter hat of Manchu officials" J. mahila "hat"

Sol. maxalá

Mo. malaγai, malaγ-a "hat, cap, headgear; head (as of a nail, pin, etc.)

(Early Mo. → Ma./J.; metathesis occurred after borrowing.) /S 698/

maikan "tent"

Oroc. maika(n) Ulc. majka(n)
Ud. maiga Nan. maikã

Mo. mayiqan "tent"

(Early Mo. → STu.) /S 698/

mailasun "arbor vitae, cypress"

Mo. mayilasu "cypress (tree)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 522/

maimadambi "to walk weaving from side to side, to stagger"

Evenk. mej-
Ev. mēi- "to rock, shake"

Mo. mayimari- "to walk unsteadily, reel"

(Problematic.) /SSTM I, 564/

maiman "business, trade"

Evenk. najmān

Mo. mayima, nayima, mayimaγ-a "trade, commerce, business"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimate source is Chinese <u>mai-mai</u> 買賣 .) /K 1970/

maitu "a pole heavier at one end (a weapon), mace"

Oroc. maitu "sledgehammer"
Nan. maitu "sledgehammer"

Mo. manču "pestle; stick, cudgel"

(Problematic phonologically; the semantic similarity may well be due to chance.) /SSTM I, 521/

maktambi "to praise, to extol"

Evenk. makta-
Oroc. makta-
Ud. makta-
Ulc. maktači-
Nan. makta-

Mo. maγta- "to praise, eulogize, laud, extol, glorify"

(Mo. → STu. on pattern basis.) /S 698/

malahi "a striped yellow cat"

Mo. malur "striped wildcat; Felis sylvestris"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with morpheme change in Ma. after borrowing.) /SSTM I, 523/

maltakû "a tool used for scraping dirt or mud"

Mo. maltaγur "any tool used for digging, digger"
Khalkha малтуур

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. malta- "to dig".) /SSTM I, 524/

mandal "(Buddhist) the mandala"

Mo. mandal "disk, circle, circumference, orb; a pictorial or plastic representation of the universe as conceived in Buddhist cosmography..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; source ultimately is Sanskrit maṇḍala.) /S 698/

mandumbi "to mature, grow up" (Hauer lists mantumbi as obsol. form)

Mo. mandu-, manda- "to rise, become higher; to tower, loom, to rise (sun, moon, flame); to propagate, spread; to thrive, prosper; to develop, originate"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /R 140/

mangkan "sand dune"

Mo. mangq-a(n) "long sandy hill; newly formed sand hill"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 530-531/

mangkara "a horse or dog with white hair on the head, eyes, and muzzle"

Evenk. maŋkār "bald; white-snouted"

Mo. mangqar "horse or cattle with a white head or face"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 531/

manju "Manchu"

Sol. manǰu	Ulc. manǰu
Neg. manǰu	Orok. manǰu
Oroc. manǰu	Nan. manǰu
Ud. manǰu	

Mo. manǰu "Manchu, a Manchurian"

(Ma. → Mo.; the name is used as a self-ethnonym by the Manchus and is likely therefore to be borrowed by the Mongols. The etymology of the word is uncertain, but Hauer's suggestion (p. 641) that the word is a shortened form of Sanskrit manjuśrī is untenable.) /SSTM I, 527/

mansui "brightly colored satin with golden cloud and dragon designs"

Mo. mangnuγ "brocade; silk material interwoven with dragons of certain type in silver or gold"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.) /SSTM I, 528/

marambi "to decline, to reject, to turn down, to refuse"

Oroc. mari-
Ud. maleə-
Nan. maria-

Mo. maryu- "to argue; to refuse, decline; to resist"

Khalkha марах

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM I, 532/

margat (Zakh. 874) "emerald stone"

Mo. maryad "emerald"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 532/

matalambi "to stamp the earth with the hind hoof"

Evenk. malta- "to dig snow with the hooves - of reindeer"
Sol. malta- "to dig"

Mo. malta- "to dig, excavate, unearth, mine"

(Problematic phonologically and semantically.)/S 698/

matambi "to heat in order to bend (bone, horn, wood, bamboo etc.)"

Evenk. mata-

Mo. mata- "to curve or bend; to hollow out in a vault-shape"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1991/

medege, medehe, mede, mejige "news, information, intelligence"
J. medige "tidings"

Evenk. medeġe "feeling, sensitivity
Oroc. mēde
Ud. mede
Ulc. mēde
Nan. mede

Mo. medege(n) "information, news, communication, message, telegram; declaration; advice, report; intelligence"

(The multitude of Ma. forms indicate several layers of borrowing and contamination. Borrowings of this form Mo. → Ma. at recent period, and mejige represents an early Mo. → Ma./J. loan. The picture is complicated by the existence in Tu. (except for Manchu) of a verb mede- "to feel, to sense" (in Evenk., Sol., Neg., Oroc., Ud., Ulc.) which is in correspondence with Mo. mede- "to know, understand, perceive, find out, be conscious of".) /S 699/

megu "mushroom"

Sol. mógu
Ud. mōgo, mouga
Nan. mogo

Mo. mögü[ü] "mushroom"

Khalkha мөөг

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, note mene listed separately for similar phonology.) /SSTM I, 542/

meheji (Hauer) "young sow"

Evenk. mekeǰin
Sol. mexeǰî

Mo. megeǰi "sow"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, the NTu. forms by another route.) /SSTM I, 566/

meiren "shoulder; on the battue, the two banners marching on both sides of the center; side-, vice-, sub-; the sides of a bow grip; the large beads on both ends of a Buddhist rosary"

Evenk. mīre	Oroc. mije
Sol. mīre, miri	Ud. müe
Ev. mīr	Orok. mujre
Neg. mīje	Nan. mejre

Mo. mörü(n), möri "shoulder; back of a knife"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM I, 538/

meker (Zakh. 880) "Mongolian word, the name of a white plant"

Mo. meker "name of a wild plant, viviparous snake-weed (Polygonum viviparum)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 572/

meli "jasmine"

Mo. melirge "jasmine"

(Direction of loan problematic due to phonology, in addition note Chinese mo-li 茉莉 "jasmine" which is likely the ultimate donor.) /SSTM I, 544/

menderembi "to get one's speech confused (of old people)"

Evenk. mendēlē- "to be troubled, lose one's composure"
Ulc. neŋde- "to be paralyzed with fear"

Mo. mengdere- "to be troubled, disturbed, or sad; to be agitated, disconcerted, or in disorder; to be upset by haste, fear, or some inconvenience; to lose one's composure or poise; to become embarrassed"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the relation of the Ulc. form to the Mo. is unclear.) /SSTM I, 568/

mene "indeed, actually, truly, honestly"

Mo. mön "real, true, genuine, the very same, given; really; precisely, truly, exactly; proper"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 569/

menen "paralyzed, invalid, disabled; stupid, silly"

Mo. meneng, meneg "stupid person, dolt, stupid, imbecile; paralysis, palsy"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 569/

menggun "silver" J. mengun "silver"

Evenk. meŋun	Ud. meŋu(n)
Sol. megũ	Ulc. meŋgu(n)
Ev. meŋən	Orok. meŋgu(n)
Neg. meŋun	Nan. meŋgũ

Mo. mönggü(n) "silver; money; 1/100th of a tögürig"

(Pre-loan correspondence, though TMEN #377 regards as a loan despite conformity to the phonology of native Tungus stock.) /HCG 4/

menji "turnip"

Mo. manǰin, manǰing "turnip"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is man-ching 蔓菁 ; for Ma. -e- ~ Chinese -a- note mentu listed separately.) /SSTM I, 569/

mentu "steamed bread (usually round in shape)"

Ud. mantu
Ulc. mantu
Nan. mantu, manto

Mo. mantau "a kind of steamed bread"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma. (and STu.); source is man-t'ou 饅頭) /SSTM I, 529/

mergen "a very good hunter or fisherman; outstanding, wise, worthy, skilled, adept"

Evenk. mergenčī "fine fellow"
Sol. mergẽ "wise"
Oroc. megge "hero"
Ud. merge "epithet of a hero"
Ulc. merge(n) "fine fellow, hero"
Orok. merge(n) "hero"
Nan. mergẽ "hero"
(the term throughout Tungus is largely confined to use in folktales)

Mo. mergen "a good marksman; wisdom; wise, learned, sage, experienced, apt"

(Early Mo. → Tu. on phonological basis; this form must have been borrowed into Tu. at a later time than such forms as Ma. fajan and sejen, which show an earlier sound change of the *-rg- cluster. It is not clear if the Tungus verb form represented by Ma. merkimbi "to recollect, bring to mind", Ulc. mexe- "to think, surmise", Neg. mejge-, mejgen- "to think, to worry about" is to be connected with the forms above.) /HCG 5/

micumbi "to crawl"

Evenk. mirki-	Uc. miki-
Sol. milki-	Ulc. miču-
Ev. mirkə-	Orok. mitu-, mīttu-
Neg. mīxi-	Nan. miku-
Oroc. mikki-	

Mo. mölkü- "to crawl on all fours, creep"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 36/

minggan "one thousand" (Hauer has mingga as obsol. form)
J. mingan "thousand"

Evenk. miŋan	Ud. miŋga(n)
Sol. miŋã	Ulc. miŋga(n)

Neg. miŋgan
Oroc. miŋga(n)
Orok. miŋga(n)
Nan. miŋgă

Mo. mingγ-a(n) "thousand"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; this is on the pattern Tü. → Mo. → Tu., cf. Tü. (ED 346) bin "a thousand".) /HCG 6/

mini "genitive of bi: my, of me" J. mini "I (gen.)"

Ev. min
Neg. min
Ulc. min, mini
Orok. min, mini

Mo. minu, mini "poss. pron. my, mine"

(The structural similarity in genitive formation for pronouns has already been discussed (cf. bi, ini); the labelling of the Ma. and other Tu. forms as loans is problematic.) /HCG 6/

miosiri, miyošori "smile"

Ev. musʏm- "to smile"
Neg. musi-musi bi- "to smile"
Orok. musimu- "to smile"

Mo. misiyel "smile, laugh (elevated style)"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM I, 561/

monggo "Mongolia, Mongolian" J. mongul "Mongolian"

Evenk. moŋo
Sol. moŋol
Nan. moŋgo

Mo. mongγul "Mongol, Mongolian; Mongolia"

(Problematic, as the etymology of the term is uncertain. Used as a self-ethnonym, it may well be Mo. → Ma.)/S 699/

moo "tree; wood; stick, pole" J. mo "tree"

Evenk. mō
Sol. mō
Ev. mō
Neg. mo
Oroc. mō
Ud. mō
Ulc. mō
Orok. mō
Nan. mō

Mo. modu(n) "a) tree, woods, forest b) wood, wooden, lumber, timber; firewood; stick, staff; domino"

(Problematic phonologically.) /HCG 4/

morin "horse" J. morin "horse"

Evenk. murin
Sol. morĩ
Ev. murpn
Ud. mui, muji
Ulc. muri(n)
Orok. muri(n)
Nan. morĩ

Mo. mori(n) "horse, equine; (chiefly in names of plants and animals) great, big, large..."

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern for domestic cattle terminology; cf. TMEN #374.) /HCG 4/

muhaliyan "ball, sphere, bead, round projectile; pile, stack"

Sol. muxali
Oroc. moxalɜ̃ , muxali
Ud. maʰalu
Ulc. muxali(n)
Orok. muxali(n)
Nan. moxali

Mo. muquliγ, muqulaγ "rounded, ball-shaped, globular, spherical; kiosk, pavilion"

(Early Mo. → Tu.; cf. muheliyen listed separately.) /SSTM I, 552/

muheliyen "round"

Ulc. muxergi(n) "ring"
Nan. muxergiẽ "ring"

Mo. mögülig, mögürig "grain, granular, circular, globular, spheroid"

(Early Mo. → Tu.) /S 699/

muhûri "rounded off, leveled off"

Sol. moxor

Mo. muqur "blunt, blunted; cropped; hornless, tailless, bobtailed; amputated, maimed; rounded (as number): dead-end; blind (figuratively)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological and semantic basis.) /SSTM I, 554/

mujan "carpenter"

Sol. mūǰã̄
Nan. moǰã̄

Mo. mujiyan "carpenter, cabinet maker"

(Chinese → Ma. → Mo.; source is mu-chiang 木匠.) /SSTM I, 551/

muke "water; river, stream" J. mu "water"

Evenk. mū	Oroc. mū
Sol. mū	Ulc. mū, mue
Ev. mē	Orok. mu
Neg. mū	Nan. mue

(above forms with meaning "water")

Mo. mören "large river or lake"

(Problematic; the Ma. meaning of "river, stream" may be influenced by the Mo., while any other connection, if it exists, is pre-Mongol.) /R 154/

multulembi "to come loose (of knots), to loosen, to slacken" (Hauer lists multumbi as obsol. form)

Evenk. multul-	Neg. motuw-
Ev. multu-	Nan. moltoli-, multuli-

Mo. multul-, multula- "to free by taking off or out, pull out completely (as a plant with its roots); to unharness, unyoke; to unhook, uncouple, unlink, disconnect..."

(Early Mo. → Tu.) /S 699/

murambi "to roar, to low, to bellow, to neigh; to call deer with a whistle"

Evenk. moro-	Orok. mura-
Oroc. mura-	Nan. mora-
Ulc. mura-	

Mo. mögere-, mögeri- "to moo, low, bellow (of cows)"

(Problematic due to ultimate onomat. origin.) /S 699/

muse "we (inclusive)

Evenk. mit	Neg. bitta, butta
Sol. miti	Oroc. biti
Ev. mut	Ud. minti

Mo. bida, bide(n) "pers. pron. we"

(Problematic on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 539/

naihûmbi "to tilt, to lean to one side, to stagger"

Mo. nayiγu- "to flutter in the wind; to quiver; to shake, sway; to reel, walk unsteadily; to hang down (as branches, leaves), bow down, stoop"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 673/

nairan (Zakh. 207) "mixture"

Mo. nayiraγ "mixture, compound; proportion, symmetry; composition; harmonious; poetic"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 579/

narambi "to long for, to feel attached to, to linger over"

Mo. nayira- "to be in harmony, agreement, order"

(Dismissable on etymon basis, note Mo. nai "friendship", Ma. naracun "longing, attachment".) /S 673/

narhûn "fine, thin; detailed, minute; secret, confidential; sparing, economical, frugal..." J. narhun "slender"

Mo. nariqan "rather fine, thin, slender, etc." note Mo. narin "fine, narrow"

(Early Mo. → Ma./J.) /SSTM I, 585-586/

neigen "even, uniform"

Oroc. neige, neiŋe	Ulc. neje(n)
Ud. neige	Nan. nejẽ

Mo. neyigen "equal(ly), uniform(ly); same, alike; well-shaped, of good proportions; everywhere"

(Mo. → STu. on etymon basis, note Mo. nei "one and all; all together; in accord, jointly...".) /S 673/

nehû "a slave girl" (Hauer lists nehu as obsol. form)

Mo. ———————

MMo. nekün "house servant"

(Problematic, the Ma. spelling indicates a foreign word but not one borrowed from Mo., perhaps both Mo. and Ma. have borrowed from a third language.) /SSTM I, 617/

neimbi "to open, open up"

Evenk. nī-
Neg. nī-
Oroc. n'ī-
Ud. nīgi-
Ulc. n'ī
Orok. n'ī-
Nan. nixeli-

Mo. nege-, negege- "to open"

Khalkha нээх

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 673/

neku "a woman's female friend, sworn sister" J. nekur "friend"

Sol. nuxō "friend"

Mo. nökür "friend, comrade, companion; husband"

(Early Mo. → Ma./J.; note the semantic change (narrowing) which has occurred in the Ma. but not the J.) /S 674/

nemerhen "a raincoat made of reeds" (Hauer lists nemergen as obsol.)

Mo. nemürge(n), nömürge(n) "cloak, mantle; blanket, cover; horse blanket; shelter"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, note Mo. nemür- "to throw or wear a garment over one's shoulder"; the relation to Ma. nerembi "to throw over the shoulders (clothing)" is unclear.) /PVG 38/

neombi "to roam, to wander away from home"

Mo. negü- "to nomadize, move from place to place, change pasture grounds; to trek, migrate; to move to a new place"

Buriat нүүхэ
Khalkha нүүх

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. For similar phonology note deo listed separately.) /S 673/

niman "goat"

Evenk. n'āmēn

Mo. nimaγan, imaγ-a(n) "goat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 674/

niohan "green"

Ev. n'ōnta- "to get a bruise; for a bruise to turn blue"
Oroc. n'ugǰa "green; blue"
Ud. n'ogǰo "bruise; blue"
n'oɩo "bluish; greenish..."
Ulc. n'ogǰo(n) "blue, green..."
Orok. n'ōgdo "green"
Nan. n'ongiã "green, blue"

Mo. noγuγan "green"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; it is not clear whether the palatalization of the Tu. forms occurred within Tu. or reflects a dialect form of Mongol which has not survived. In this regard note also šanyan listed separately.) /HCG 6/

niohumbi "to pound, to stamp; to construct a pounded earth wall"

Evenk. niku- "to mill grain"
Sol. nuxuŋki "pestle"

Mo. niqu-, nuqu- "to rub, massage; to mash, press, knead; to crumple; to finish off, dispose of completely, kill"

Buriat нюхаха

(Recent Mo. → Ma., donor form probably Buriat.) /S 674/

nirumbi "to draw, paint"

Neg. nijiji-, niju-
Oroc. n'iru-, n'uru-
Ulc. n'uru-, n'uri-
Orok. n'iru-
Nan. n'iru-

Mo. ǰiru- "to draw (as a line or picture); to scratch; to strike (of a match)"

(Problematic phonologically.) /S 674/

nirwan "Nirvana, paradise"

Mo. nirvan "Nirvana (the final goal of Buddhism, as opposed to reincarnation in the phenomenal world); the 'absolute'"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; source is ultimately Sanskrit nirvāna.) /SSTM I, 599/

nisku konggoro (Hauer) "another name for the mythological beast degetu konggoro which is also known as dengjiltu konggoro..."

Mo. niskü küliüg (Golst. II p. 24) "name of a legendary beast"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis; cf. Mo. nis- "to fly", the Mo. has the literal meaning of "flying steed".) /SSTM I, 601/

niyakûrambi "to kneel" J. miyakuru "to kneel"

Neg. mixert-	Ulc. m'akurandi-
Oroc. mæxurana-	Orok. mēxoran-
Ud. mæula-	Nan. mixoran-

Mo. mekü- "to bow, incline, bend, render homage"

(Problematic on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 536/

niyehe "duck" J. miyehe "duck"

Evenk. nīkī	Ud. n'uǧeǰiǧe
Sol. nīxī	Orok. nēčiǧe "small bird; songbird"
Ev. n'ieki	Nan. jixe, n'ixe

Mo. nuγusu(n) "duck"

(Problematic phonologically.) /HCG 4/

nomhon "docile, quiet, tame, guileless, unobtrusive, simple minded" (Hauer lists nomohon as obsol. form) J. nonmuho "good"

Evenk. nomokōn	Ulc. nomoxo(n)
Sol. nomūx	Orok. nomoxouka
Ev. numɐk	Nan. nomoxõ

Mo. nomuqan "peaceful, meek, gentle, calm; modest"

(Early Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis.) /S 674/

nomin "lapis-lazuli"

Mo. nomin "azure-stone, laxulite"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 604-605/

nomun "classic book, classic; sutra, scripture; law, holy teaching, religion; preaching"

Sol. num "book"

Mo. nom "a) religious book or scripture; book (in general)
b) teaching (often religious teaching); dharma; religion, esp. Buddhism"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology; ultimate source is Greek nomos, cf. ED 777 for a discussion of route of the borrowing.) /HCG 5/

noran "a pile of wood or plants"

Mo. norum "pile (of wood, logs etc.) rick (of hay etc.)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 696/

nujan "fist" Sibe #79 nujaN "fist"

Evenk. nidurga
Sol. nuruǧá
Neg. nelga, nojga
Oroc. nuǧga
Ulc. nuǧja

Mo. nidurγ-a "fist; kulak; the cuffs of a long Mongolian coat"

(Early Mo. → STu., the NTu. forms are by another route. For the phonology of the Ma. form see Ligeti p. 241 note 11.) /S 675/

nukte "an area in which nomads lead their flocks and herds following water and grass; baggage carried on pack animals"

Mo. negüdel "nomadizing, nomadic life; nomad camp; transhumance; itinerant, traveling"

(Problematic phonologically; note neombi listed separately.) /SSTM I, 610/

nunggalaha yali "stewed meat"

Mo. noγulur, noluur, noulur "soft wool; down; cream; the choicest part of a thing"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.)

nunggari "down, fuzz" (Hauer has nungneri as obsol. form)

Mo. noγursu(n), noursu(n) "down, fluffy feathers"

(Dismissable on phonological basis. The Ma. form is more likely to be connected with nunggasun listed below.) /PVG 73/

nunggasun "a fine material woven from down"

Mo. ungγasu(n), ungγusu(n) "wool"
MMo. nungqasun "(sheep-) wool"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

nure "undistilled liquor, rice wine" J. nure "liquor"

Sol. nurē "wine"
Nan. niru "wine"

Mo. nere- "to distill wine; to fill a pipe"

(Dismissable on structural basis.) /SSTM I, 625/

nuturu "sand grouse (Syrrhaptes paradoxus)"

Mo. nuγturuu "hazel, grouse, sandgrouse"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM I, 613/

obo (Hauer) "sacred stonepile as a boundary marker, obo"

Mo. obuγ-a(n) "heap, pile, mass; heap of stones; specifically an obo, a mound or cairn of rough stones built as a landmark or monument where special religious ceremonies are performed in honor of the genius loci; barrow, tumulus; border mark"

Khalkha овоо

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 623/

odontu (Hauer) "starred, having stars"

Mo. odutai, odutu "starry, starred, with stars"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, note Mo. odu(n) "star".) /SSTM II, 7/

ogo, o "the depression of a mortar"

Evenk. owur
Sol. oǧōr

Mo. uɣur, uur, uɣuur "mortar; vessel in which substances are pounded or rubbed"

(Problematic, the Manchu forms indicate two levels of borrowing but the pattern of distribution suggests only recent borrowings; perhaps both forms are indeed recent.)/S 623/

ohotono "mole, an animal of the Talpidae family"

Sol. oǧtuna "field rat"

Mo. oɣutun-a "field rat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 6/

ojombi "to kiss"

Ud. oǰo-
Nan. oǰo-

Mo. oǰu-, oǰi- "to kiss"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

okdombi "to go to meet, to meet halfway, to greet, to welcome; to engage (an enemy)"

Evenk. uktu- "to come upon, run into"
Neg. oktul- "to come upon, run into"
Oroc. uktul- "to come upon, run into"
Ulc. oktuli- "to come upon, run into"
Orok. uktuli- "to come upon, run into"
Nan. ogdala- "to go to meet, meet halfway"

Mo. uɣtu- "to meet, receive, or welcome an arriving visitor; to meet intentionally"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the other Tu. forms show an earlier borrowing.) /S 623/

oke "the wife of father's younger brother"

Evenk. ebekē

Neg. ebexē
Oroc. euke
Ulc. ewke, euwke, euke
Orok. ewe(n)
Nan. euke

Mo. (Golst. I, p. 73) ebei "(little) mother"

(Problematic both semantically and phonologically; it is only the semantic connection, however weak, which prevents me from dismissing the correspondence outright.) /SSTM II, 433/

olimbi "to avoid the road, to veer to the side, to wind"

Evenk. ulis- "to twist, wind (of a river)"
Neg. olisi- "to go around, detour"
Oroc. uli- "to go around, detour"
Ud. xoli- "to go around, detour"
Ulc. xōli- "to go around, detour"
Orok. xōli- "to go around, detour"
Nan. xōli- "to go around, detour"

Mo. olii- "to depart from the road; to take the wrong road; to give somebody an angry or distrustful look"

(Problematic. It is unclear if the STu. forms show an original x- or a prosthetic one; if original, then the Tu. forms can not be borrowings from Mo., though the Ma. form may well be a separate and recent loan.) /SSTM II, 261/

olji "captive, prisoner of war; booty, loot, plunder"

Mo. olǰa "finding, find; acquisition; income, revenue, earning; profit, gain; booty; prisoner(s) of war"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

olo "flax" (Hauer lists with meaning "generic name for hemp")

Mo. olusu(n) [olosu(n)], olasun "hemp; hemp thread, rope, cord"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /R 176/

olombi "to wade, to cross a stream, to ford"

Evenk. olo-, olō-
Ud. olo-
Ulc. oni-, ono-
Nan. ono-

Mo. olum, olung "ford, crossing"

(As no verb form is attested in Mo., a strict methodology must place this in the category Tu. → Mo.; Poppe 1960 p. 98 considers this correspondence Altaic, while Doerfer in TMEN #55, despite the verb form in Tu., considers Mo. → Tu., seeing the verb forms (apparently) as a back-formation.) /SSTM II, 15-16/

omimbi "to drink; to smoke (tobacco); to take (medicine)"
J. omi(ra) "to drink"

Evenk. um-	Oroc. imi-
Sol. imi-	Ud. umi-
Neg. om-	Ulc. umi-, umu-
	Orok. umi-, umu-
	Nan. omi-

(the Evenk. carries only the meaning "to drink")

Mo. umdaγa[n], umda "beverage, drink"

(Problematic; Poppe 1960 p. 69 considers as Altaic, analyzing the Mo. form as a deverbal noun from an unattested *umda-.) /PVG 69/

omoktu konggoro "a yellow horse"

Sol. omokči "proud"

Mo. omuγtai, omuγtu "haughty, arrogant, hot-tempered"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 17/

onggon "the space between the saddle and the animal's back, bare back of a horse"

Evenk. uġ-, uk- "to sit in the saddle; to sit in some sort of transport"
Sol. ugu- "to sit on a horse"
Ev. ū- "to sit on horseback"
Oroc. ū- "to sit on horseback"
Ud. ūn-a- "to sit on horseback; to sit"
Ulc. ū- "to sit"
Orok. ū- "to sit"
Nan. ō- "to sit"

Mo. unu- "to sit or ride astride, to mount (as a horse)"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 244/

onon "the male zeren"

Mo. oγunu, onu "male antelope"

Khalkha оонo

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 344/

ordo "palace, palace in the form of a pavilion; pavilion"

Mo. ordu(n) "residence of a ruler; palace; camp"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

oren, ûren "an image, doll, a Buddhist image, a religious image: tablet of a deceased person" (Hauer has oren, eoren as obsol. forms)

Mo. kegür "corpse, dead body; cemetery"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM II, 289-290/

orhoda "ginseng" J. orhoda "ginseng"

Ulc. olxuda Nan. orxoda

Mo. orqudui "root of ginseng (panax quinquefolium)"

(This is a loan Ma. (or J.) → Mo. on etymon grounds, note Ma. orho "grass", da "root" (same in J.) while no plausible etymology exists within Mo.) /SSTM II, 24/

orin "twenty" J. orin "twenty"

Evenk. orin	Ud. uai
Sol. orĩ	Ulc. xori(n)
Neg. ojin	Orok. xori(n)
Oroc. oi	Nan. xorĩ

Mo. qori(n) "twenty"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on etymon grounds, note Mo. qoyar "two". Concerning the lost initial in Ma. and several of the other Tu. languages see the discussion on pages 8 and 9.) /HCG 6/

oromu "cream"

Evenk. urumu
Sol. urum "scum (on liquid)"

Mo. ördüm-e "scum on boiled milk; milk condensed to a hard substance by boiling it for a long time"

(Problematic, the standard Ma. correspondence to Mo. ö and ü is Ma. u; the form above is anomalous. The expected form for a recent loan would be Ma. *urume. Note also Ma. orombi "to form a layer on the surface (gruel or other liquids)".) /S 624/

oron "vacant post, vacancy; a section of the sky without stars; the physical or earthly soul, vitality, animation"

Mo. oru "place; bed; vacant place, vacancy; trace; (factual) basis"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

oros "Russia, Russian, foreign"

Mo. orus "Russia; Russian"

(Likely Mo. → Ma. considering the earlier historic contacts between Mongols and Russia.) /SSTM II, 25/

otori "a small-scale battue in springtime"

Mo. utu "the end of the chain of hunters in a battue"

(Problematic semantically; note also uturi listed separately.) /SSTM II, 28/

pai "playing card, card; inscribed tablet"

Ulc. pāi "playing cards"
Nan. pā "playing cards"

Mo. pai "target; dominoes, mah-jong, cards"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is p'ai 牌 .) /SSTM II, 31/

pailu "a temporary arch or other structure over a street bearing slogans or holiday greetings, a pailou"

Mo. payiluur [payilour] "arch, portal"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is p'ai-lou 牌樓 .) /SSTM II, 31/

panghai "crab"

Mo. pangqai "crab"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. Ultimate source may be Chinese p'ang-hsieh 螃蟹 .) /K 1268/

pen "a thatched shed"

Mo. peng, peng "shed, shelter"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese p'eng 棚 .) /SSTM II, 305/

pin "an imperial concubine of the fourth rank"

Mo. pin "women in the service of the Chinese emperor; imperial concubines"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is p'in 嬪 .) /SSTM II, 38/

pingse "scale, balance" (Hauer has pingze as obsol. form)

Mo. bingse, pingse "balance, scales"

(This appears to be Mo. ← Chinese → Ma. but the Chinese source is unknown; Hauer p. 748 suggests an unattested p'ing-tzŭ 枰子 .) /K 1269/

piyoo "credential, pass, ticket, certification"

Oroc. pæu	Ulc. pēu
Ud. pæu	Nan. pio

Mo. piyuu [piyoo] "ticket, pass"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is p'iao 票 .) /V 220/

polori "a large basket tray" (Hauer lists poluri as obsol. form; Zakh. 549 lists also polo and polu as alternate forms)

Mo. poluu "basket"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is p'o-lo 箔籮 .) /K 1270/

poo, pao "cannon"

Ulc. pau
Orok. pau
Nan. pao, pau

Mo. buu "gun, rifle, firearm"

(Separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese p'ao 砲 ; the Mongol form is likely a very early loan, the Ma. a more recent one.) /SSTM II, 36/

pun "an awning, covering for a wagon"

Sol. feŋ "awning"

Mo. peng, peng "shed, shelter"

(Problematic; the Mo. form is a recent borrowing from Chinese p'eng 棚 ; the Ma. may also be a borrowing but the phonology is unclear.) /SSTM II, 305/

puseli "store, shop"

Sol. pūse, pug'ęl'ę́
Ulc. puseli
Nan. puseli nai "merchant"

Mo. püüse(n), püse "shop, store; commercial firm"

(Likely to be borrowed separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese p'u-tzŭ 鋪 子 .) /SSTM II, 45/

sabcirambi "to rear (of horses)"

Mo. čabči- "to hew, chop; to blink; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the Ma. intensive suffix -ra- has been added after borrowing.) /SSTM II, 384/

sabka "chopstick" J. sabunha "chopsticks"

Sol. sarpa
Neg. sapkī
Oroc. sappui
Ud. safugu
Ulc. salbu
Orok. sabū, sabugu
Nan. sarbī

Mo. sabq-a(n) "chopsticks"

(Problematic.) /K 1305/

sacimbi "to chop, to hack, to chop off; to hoe; to chisel; to clip (a horse's hooves)"

Sol. sarči- Ud. čapča-
Neg. čapča-, čapči- Nan. čapči-

Mo. čabči- "to hew, chop; to blink; to kick with a forefoot or forefeet"

(Mo. → Ma., the dating of the loan is problematic. It is not clear whether the Ud. and Nan. forms entered at the same time from the Mongol. Note sabcirambi listed separately.) /S 690/

sacu "grains of buckwheat"

Ulc. čāču Nan. čāčo, čāču

Mo. saγaγ, saγada "buckwheat"

Khalkha саrаr

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 386/

sadun "related by marriage, a relative by marriage" J. sadugai "familial relationship"

Orok. sadu(n)
Nan. sadõ, sadũ

Mo. sadun "friend; relative"

(Early Mo. → STu. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 54/

saiburu "canter (of a horse)"

Mo. sayibur "slow amble, slow-ambling (of horses)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /V 283/

saiha "anklebone"

Sol. sāxa

Mo. šaγ-a(n), siγa(n), siγai "anklebone"

Khalkha шаraa, шарай

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 56/

saihada "shinbone, tibia" (Zakh. 553 also lists saihata)

Mo. šantu, šaγantu "shin-bone, tibia"

(Like saiha, the phonology is unclear but the correspondence is undeniable.) /SSTM II, 56/

sain "good, well; auspicious, favorable" J. sain "good"

Mo. sayin "good (both in physical and non-material sense), well; fine, nice..."

(Early Mo. → Ma./J.) /HCG 6/

saksu "a basket made from brambles for holding grain; a small bamboo basket for holding tea, paper, etc."

Mo. saγsu "a kind of basket made from bamboo"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 57/

salja "a fork in a road"

Mo. salaγ-a(n) "branch, twig or limb of a tree, offshoot; prongs of a fork; space between fingers or toes; tributary, arm of a river; bifurcation; part or portion; department, branch (as of science, office, store); detachment, platoon (mil.)"

(Mo. → Ma. but the dating of the loan is problematic. The distribution (Ma. only) indicates a recent loan but the phonology (the j of the final syllable) may indicate an earlier loan.)

salu "beard, whiskers"

Evenk. sakal
Sol. sagalá, saxalá
Nan. salo, salu

Mo. saqal "beard; beard of grain; fibres of roots"

(Early Mo. → Ma., the Nan. form is a Ma. borrowing. For the loss of the medial consonant in Ma. cf. gûlha and nujan.) /HCG 4/

samarambi "to mix tea or soup by repeatedly ladling out a quantity with a spoon and pouring it back"

Mo. samur-, samura-, ǰamur- "to ladle and pour liquid back into the pot while boiling"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; it is unclear if Ma. samara "a large wooden bowl" is connected to these forms.) /K 1316/

sambi "to know, to understand" J. sa- "to know"

Evenk. sā-	Ud. sā-
Sol. sā-	Ulc. sā-
Ev. hā-	Orok. sā-
Neg. sā-	Nan. sā-

Mo. sana- "a) to think, reflect, ponder b) to hold an opinion c) to intend, plan d) to remember, keep in mind; to recall"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /PVG 29/

saratai keire "a sorrel with a white crescent-shaped spot on the forehead"
note Ma. keire "a dark brown horse with a black tail and mane"

Mo. sar-a, sara(n) "moon"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis. Note Ordos sara't'u xara "the black which has a star (name of a horse)" /SSTM II, 65/

sarbacan "visor on a helmet; veil attached to the brim of a woman's hat"

Mo. sarabči(n) "projecting part of a roof; roof; visor; shelter or shed for cattle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 65/

sarcan (Zakh. 573) "veil for the face"

Mo. sarbači "a net to cover hair gathered in a bunch (worn by women)"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 65/

sarbahûn "lying spread-eagled on the back; sparse, scraggly"
Orok. salban "tousled"
Nan. sarba-sarba bī "tousled"

Mo. sarbaγar "tufted, bushy, branchy, leafy"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with morpheme change after borrowing; the Orok. and Nan. forms are apparently borrowed from Ma.) /K 1336/

sarca guwejihe "the third stomach of ruminants"

note Ma. guwejihe "stomach"

Evenk. sargina

Mo. sarkinaγ "ventriculus of ruminants; honeycomb"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 65/

sargiya "groin, pubic region, crotch"

Evenk. salgan, sālget
Ev. hālga
Neg. salga
Oroc. sāra
Ud. sara
Orok. salda(n) (also means "fork, branch")
Nan. salgã

Mo. saltaγ-a(n) "perineum (anat.), crotch between the legs"

Khalkha салтаа

(Problematic. May be an early loan Mo. → Tu.) /SSTM II, 58/

sarin "skin from the hind section of a horse, mule, or donkey from which boots are made"

Evenk. sāri
Sol. sār
Ev. cāri

Mo. saγari(n) "horsehide, skin; leather, shagreen; calluses on hands or feet..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the NTu. forms are borrowings by another route.) /K 1335/

sartambi "to delay, to postpone, to put off; to act at one's leisure, to be free and easy, to idle"

Evenk. sāta- "to linger"

Mo. saγata- "to be delayed, detained; to sit, live, dwell, reside (hon.)"

(Problematic on phonological and semantic basis.)
/SSTM II, 67/

seberi sabari (Zakh. 581) "sparse, scattered, branchy, disheveled..."

Mo. serbeger "disheveled; with hair standing up..."

(Dismissable on phonological and structural basis.)
/SSTM II, 144/

sebkelembi "to eat at intervals, to eat between meals" (Hauer has "to snack" as meaning)

Mo. sebegürke- "to act in a strange manner; to taste or eat something from time to time; to eat delicacies"

(Problematic.) /K 1344/

sebken "just, just now"

Mo. sebegün "new, strange, unusual, odd, peculiar"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 134/

sebimbi "to recover, to come around, to feel refreshed after being tired"
note also Ma. sebkimbi "to recover, to be refreshed after being fatiqued, to regain one's strength"

Mo. seb ge- "to calm down"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.)/SSTM II, 134/

sebsimbi "to shake someone who has passed out"

Mo. segsüre- "to shake the head or body; to shake off, shake out (as dust)"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds; the Ma. form may be connected with Ma. sebimbi "to recover, to come around, to feel refreshed...". /SSTM II, 138/

secimbi "to cut off, cut away; to make furrows in a field"

Mo. seyil-, seyile-, seyilü- "to cut out, carve, engrave (on wood, stone, or metal)"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 147/

sefere "a handful, a bundle"

Nan. sefere "a handful"

Mo. teberi "embrace, clasp, armful"

(Proposed by Poppe 1974 p. 130. Dismissable on phonological and semantic basis.)

sejen "wagon, cart, vehicle"

Evenk. terge
Sol. tergē
" sejin
Oroc. seǰe(n)

J. seǰe "wagon"

Ulc. seǰe(n)
Orok. seǰe(n)
Nan. seǰē

Mo. terge(n) "vehicle; cart, wagon, carriage; car; rook (in chess)"

(Early loan Mo. → Ma./J.; note that the distinctly Ma. form has been borrowed into the other STu. languages and into Sol. as well; the Evenk. and Sol. alternate form are borrowings by another route. For the phonology of the sound changes within Ma. of the borrowed form see page 12.)

sejilembi "to sigh"

Mo. seǰigle-, sesigle- "to doubt, distrust, suspect"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 137/

sekji "straw, straw bed (especially the one used by women during childbirth)"

Mo. sengse, segse "lambskin"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 137/

seksehun "withered, pining, haggard"

Mo. segsüger, segseger, segsügür "(that) which sticks out in all directions; bushy, dishevelled"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., note sarbahûn listed separately for parallel morpheme change within Ma.) /SSTM II, 139/

seksu "a basket lined with paper treated with oil used for carrying liquids"

Mo. segsʉ "small basket"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; note saksu listed separately.) /SSTM II, 138/

sektu "clever, agile, alert, sharp, quick (of intelligence); light (of sleep)"

Mo. sekegetei, sekegetʉ "intelligent, prudent; conscious"
Khalkha сэхээ(тэй)

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 139/

selbi "oar" (Hauer lists salbi as obsol. form)

Neg. sebul, seul
Oroc. seu
Ud. seu
Ulc. seuli
Orok. seul
Nan. seul

Mo. selbi "oar, punting oar"

(Pre-loan correspondence. Note selbimbi listed separately.) /S 690/

selbimbi "to row; to tread water"

Oroc. seuli- "to steer with an oar"
Ud. seuli- "to steer with an oar"
Ulc. seuli- "to steer with an oar"
Orok. seulle- "to steer with an oar"
Nan. seuli- "to steer with an oar"

Mo. selbi- "to row a boat"

(Pre-loan correspondence. This and the noun forms under selbi are a rare occurrence of noun and verb forms from an identical stem in both Mo. and Ma.) /SSTM II, 135/

seleme "a dagger carried at the belt, somewhat larger than a dabcilaku" note Ma. dabcilaku "a small hunting knife, dagger" (Hauer lists selemu as obsol. form) J. sele "iron"

Evenk. sele "iron, metal, weapon"
Sol. selem, selemei "sabre"
Sol. sele "iron"

Ev. hel "iron, metal"
Neg. sele "iron"
Neg. seleme "iron" (as an adjective)
Oroc. sele "iron"
Oroc. seleme "iron" (as an adjective)
Ulc. sele "iron"
Ulc. seleme "iron" (as an adjective)
Orok. sele "iron
Orok. seleme "iron" (as an adjective)
Nan. sele "iron"
Nan. seleme "iron" (as an adjective)

Mo. selem-e, selm-e "sabre, sword"

(Tu. → Mo. on etymon basis. This may in fact be Ma. → Mo. but the -me suffix is not well attested in Ma., aihûme "leather bellows" being the only other Ma. word with a similar structure.) /K 1354/

semejen, semsu "the fat covering the intestines and inner organs" (Hauer has semecen as obsol. form)

Evenk. semesik
Neg. semesix

Mo. semeǰi(n), semeǰe "fat around the intestines, epiploon..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 142/

serembi "to feel, to perceive, to find out, to experience, to have a presentiment"
note also Ma. surembi "to be wide awake, to wake up refreshed"

Evenk. seri- "to awaken"
Sol. seri- "to awaken"
Ev. here- "to be careful"
Neg. serew- "to awaken (someone)"
Oroc. seju- "to awaken (someone)"
Ud. siusi- "to awaken (someone)"
Orok. seru- "to awaken"
Nan. sere- "to notice"

Mo. sere-, seri- "to awaken, revive; to recover consciousness; to become sober; to keep vigil; to learn, find out; to mistrust"

(Early Mo. → Tu.) /SSTM II, 145/

serguwen "cool" J. sergun "cool"

Evenk. serun "freshness"
Sol. serčū
Ulc. sewuruli, seuruli "fresh"
Nan. sēr, serguẽ
Nan. serũ "freshness"

Mo. serigün, seregün "cool, fresh"

(Early Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis.) /PVG 29/

si "you (singular)" Sibe 2873 šii "you"

Evenk. si
Sol. š'i
Ev. hī
Neg. sī

Oroc. si
Ud. si
Ulc. si
Orok. si
Nan. si

Mo. či "pronoun of the second person singular applied to intimate friends, children, and people of lower rank: thou, you"

Buriat ши
Khalkha чи

(Problematic, see bi listed separately.) /HCG 6/

sibe "Equisetum hiemale -- a plant whose stems are used for polishing wood and bone"

Evenk. siwēkte
Ev. hīwet
Neg. siwukte

Ulc. siukte
Nan. siukte

Mo. sibeli "Equisetum, shave grass, scouring rush"

(Problematic, the direction of loan is unclear, and both may be borrowings from a third language.) /SSTM II, 76/

sibehe "the short ribs of the chest cavity"

Evenk. suwin "false rib"
Sol. suw'ẽ "short rib"
Ev. hiwina "false rib"
Neg. siwina "false rib"
Ud. sueptile "false rib"

Mo. sübege "side of the body from the armpit to the hip; flank; three large beads in a rosary which divide the 108 beads of the ordinary rosary into groups of 27 each"

Khalkha сүвээ

(Early Mo. → Ma., the NTu. forms are by another route.) /SSTM II, 117/

siberi "sweat of the hands and feet"

Evenk. hewer "sweaty (of feet)"

Mo. siberi "perspiration of the feet"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 136/

sibiyalambi "to split with a wedge; to fasten or nail with a wooden or bamboo wedge"

Evenk. siwa-
Ulc. siwari-
Orok. suwalu-, suwarru-
Nan. siwari-

Mo. siγa- "to hit with the fist; to drive in, hammer in (as a nail, a peg)"

Khalkha шаах

(Problematic on phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 75/

sibkari (Hauer) "thin, short head hair"

Mo. seyireg, seyirig "thin, thinly scattered, sparse (as grass, trees, population)"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 74/

sibsika "a switch"

Orok. sapčēku

Mo. čibčirγa, sibsirγ-a "stick or rod used in punishment"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 64/

sidarambi "to unfold (the fist), to release, to spread out; to stretch out (of distances), to become distant"

Mo. sidarla- "to approach; to draw to oneself, place at one's side"

(Problematic semantically.) /SSTM II, 79/

sideri "hobbling device, foot fetters, a hobble for animals; anklet"

Evenk. čidar
Ev. tiǰir
Nan. sideri

Mo. čidᵾr "hobbles for horses...shackles for the feet"

Buriat шүдэр
Khalkha чөдөр

(Mo. → Ma. recent, on phonological basis. The NTu. forms are borrowed through another route.) /SSTM II, 390/

sijin "line, string, fishline; line tied to the foot of a falcon"

Mo. siǰim "cord, string, line; factor, condition"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 99/

sijin bele "broken grain from which the chaff has been removed" (Hauer has "grain husks, chaff" as meaning)
note Ma. bele "hulled rice, an edible grain"

Mo. siǰir "pure, unrefined [gold]"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 79/

sike "urine"

Evenk. čikēn
Sol. šixẽ
Ev. čikən
Neg. čixēn
Ulc. čige(n), čē(n)
Orok. čie(n)

Mo. sigesᵾ(n) "urine"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin of the forms.) /PVG 31/

sihambi "to fall (of leaves); to wither; to give hot pursuit, follow on the heels of" (Hauer lists sigambi as obsol.)

Nan. sixa- "to fall (of leaves)"

Mo. siqa-, siɣa- "to press, squeeze, squash; to strain (by squeezing); to crowd; to oppress, to urge..."

(The Ma. form, at least in regard to the meaning "to give hot pursuit...!" is a recent borrowing from Mongol. It is unclear if the other meanings listed for the Ma. are semantic extensions or come from a separate verb with the same phonetic form.) /S 690/

sijirhûn "straight, not crooked" (Hauer lists sijirahûn as obsol.)

Mo. siduryu, sidury-a "straight, honest, loyal, faithful, truthful; progressive (of people)"

Khalkha шударга

(Problematic. If borrowed from Mo. then the Ma. would be an ancient loan due to the palatalization of the medial consonant.) /SSTM II, 80/

silda (Hauer) "neck meat"

Evenk. sil
Ev. hēlən
Neg. sil "blunt side of a knife"

Mo. sili "nape of the neck; sinew of the neck; small elevation; flat-topped hill; foreshore; rapids"

(Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis. The final morpheme of the Ma. form is problematic but note Ma. fiyada "jawbone".) /R 233/

sile "meat soup, broth"

Evenk. sile	Ud. sile
Sol. šil	Ulc. sile(n)
Ev. hil	Orok. sile
Neg. sile	Nan. sile
Oroc. sile	

Mo. silü(n) "soup, bouillon, broth"

Khalkha шөл

(Problematic. Likely to be ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis but a Mo. donor form without rounded vowel is unattested. TMEN #246 suggests that there was an earlier Mo. *šile which was the donor form.) /S 690/

silenggi "dew" J. sileun "dew"

Evenk. silekse, silēkse	Oroc. sileŋse
Sol. šilikši	Ud. siliʰe
Ev. hiləs	Orok. sʲilesʲke
Neg. silekse	Nan. silemse

Mo. sigüder, sigüderi "dew"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 86/

silenggi "saliva that runs from the corners of the mouth -- drivel"

Mo. silüsü(n) "saliva, spittle, slaver, slobber"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. The Ma. form underwent contamination after borrowing, see <u>silenggi</u> "dew" above.) /S 690/

silgambi "to sort out, to select, to hand-pick"

Mo. silγa- "to examine; to check, verify; to select"
Khalkha шалгах

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 690/

silhi "gall bladder; envy"

J. šilihi "gall bladder"

Evenk. šī, sī	Ud. silih^e
Sol. sīlde	Orok. sīlte
Neg. silte	Nan. silte

Mo. sösü(n), sölsü(n) "bile, gall"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /S 691/

silimbi "to select, to pick out"

Mo. sili-, sile- "to choose, select, or pick out the best; to screen; to sift"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 690/

silin (Zakh. 607) "lively, fresh, bold"

Mo. šalamaγai, silamaγai, šalamaγ "prompt, quick, lively; bold, determined; reckless"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 70/

silja, sija "meat that has been cooked to pieces in its own juices"

Mo. silǰa, siǰa "stewed meat; broth..."
<u>note also</u> Mo. šalǰa "very soft boiled meat, overcooked meat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 84/

siltambi "to shirk, get out of doing something, to refuse responsibility; to make excuses, to put someone off"

Mo. silta- "to be a cause or reason, be caused by; to pretend, simulate, find a reason"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 85/

silun "lynx (Felis lynx) (Hauer lists šulun as obsol. form)

Mo. silügüsü(n), silegüsü(n) "lynx"

Khalkha ᠰᠢᠯᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ, ᠰᠢᠯᠠᠭᠤᠰᠤ
Buriat ᠰᠡᠯᠡᠭᠡᠰᠡ(ᠨ)

(Early Mo. → Ma.) /S 690/

simembi "to soak, to moisten, to seep into; to flavor"

Ulc. čime- "to ooze; to be soaked"
Nan. čime- "to ooze; to be soaked"

Mo. simed-, simede- "to become saturated, soaked with; to become absorbed; to penetrate, enter into"

(Problematic. The Mo. form appears to be a passive of Mo. sime- "to draw a liquid into the mouth, suck up or into..." which is treated under simimbi. These forms may also be connected with simen, also listed separately.) /SSTM II, 394/

simen "moisture; juice, secretion, vital fluids, fluids"

Mo. sim-e "sap; essence, elixir, extract; nourishment, nutritiousness; quintessence, substance; vital principle; force, vigor"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /K 1503/

simhun, šumhun "finger, toe"

Evenk. čimki "little finger"
Sol. suitxẽ "little finger"
Ev. čimčen "little finger"
Neg. čīmkan, cīmkaŋān "little finger"
Oroc. čomočko "little finger, finger"
Ud. čimč'a "little finger"
Ulc. čomočo(n) "finger"
Nan. čumčuẽ

Mo. sigeči, sigeǰei, čigeǰei: sigeči quruγu(n) "the little finger"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 395/

simimbi "to suck"

Sol. šime-	Ulc. simine-
Ev. himat-, himač-	Orok. simi-
Oroc. simiči-	Nan. simi-
Ud. simisi-	

Mo. sime-, simi- "to draw a liquid into the mouth, suck up or into; to sip; to suck (as candy)"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /SSTM II, 87/

simten "taste, tasty"

Mo. simte "taste, flavor; nourishment"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1506/

singgembi "to soak into, to permeate, to saturate, to soak through, to become thoroughly wet; to be digested; to suck (into); to dissolve"

Mo. singge- "to be absorbed into something; to dissolve (in liquid): to be imbibed, saturated; to be digested (of food)..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1465/

sir siyar "(onomat.) the sound of grass and leaves moving slightly; palpitating (of the heart)"

Mo. sir [sir] gekü "noise of rustling wind, or of water before coming to a boil (onom.)"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM II, 96/

sira "yellow"

Mo. sir-a "a) yellow b) yolk of an egg c) bile..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

siraca "Chinese boxthorn -- Lycium chinensis; a yellow dye made from the rotten bark of the tree Quercus bungeana"

Mo. siraču "gamboge (yellow pigment from wood); rattan fruit; Garcinia morilla"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 95/

sirbašambi "to wag the tail; to get agitated, to become flustered"

Evenk. sirbaj-

Mo. sirba-, sirbe- "to wag the tail"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 94/

sirbe wehe cinuhûn "a cinnabar mined in the mountains of Yunnan that is used both as a medicine and a dye"

Mo. sir "varnish, lacquer"

(Dismissable on structural and semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 95/

sirge "silk thread, silk floss (from a cocoon); string (of a musical instrument); a strip (of dried meat)"

note also Ma. siren "string, line, thread; runner, tendril, creeper"

Evenk. sirekte "tendon"
Evenk. sirēn "thread"
Sol. sirikte "thread"
Ev. siren "string on a crossbow"
Neg. sijekte, sijēn "thread"
Oroc. sije, sijekte, sijeŋe "thread"
Ulc. siri, sirekte, sirxe "thread"
Orok. sirekte "filament"

Mo. sirkeg "a) fibre, filament, thread; texture; grain (as of stone) b) piece..."

(Problematic. Likely a very early loan from Mo. but the donor form is not attested, Mo. sirkeg could not itself be the donor form.) /K 1583/

sirga "a light bay horse; roe deer"

Mo. sirγ-a "light bay"

Khalkha марга

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 95/

sirhacin, sirgacin "a female zeren"

Mo. sirγaγčin "light bay (of a mare only); antelope (female)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 95/

sirin "raw copper" J. širi "copper"

Evenk. čīrikte
Ev. čīrit
Neg. čījikte
Oroc. čīkte
Ud. čikto
Ulc. čīrikte
Orok. čirikte
Nan. čīrikte

Mo. sirin "bronze, copper (obsol.)"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on basis of pattern for cultural items.) /R 235/

sisembi "to sift"

Mo. sigsi- "to sift, bolt; to winnow, fan (grain)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM II, 99/

sisembi "to baste (sewing)

Mo. side- "to baste or stitch"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 99/

sishe "a mattress" J. šišihe "mattress"

Sol. sisiǧí "thick felt"
Nan. sisxe "carpet; mattress"

Mo. isegei, esegei "felt"
MMo. isgei, sisgei "felt, thick felt"

(Proposed by Poppe 1981 p. 159. Early Mo. → Ma./J. on semantic grounds.)

sisi "hazelnut" J. sisi "hazelnut"

Sol. šīšikta
Nan. sisikta

Mo. sid "nut, filbert, hazelnut"

(Problematic phonologically.) /K 1482/

sithûmbi "to apply oneself, to be diligent, to exert oneself, to concentrate on"

Mo. sedki- "to think, reflect, ponder; to intend"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 99/

siyoo, šu "saltpeter"

Mo. siʉ, šau, šeʉ, šou "saltpeter nitre"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese hsiao 硝 .) /SSTM II, 112/

sohimbi "to become dimmed (the eyes when some foreign object gets in them), to get something in the eye" (Hauer lists sogimbi as obsol. form)

Mo. soqui- "to be(come) blind (used as an invective)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 105/

soilombi "to soar, to fly up; to fly up after hitting the target, to ricochet (of an arrow)"

Mo. soyil- "to fly very high; to ascend; to gush forth, spout"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 104/

soktombi "to be drunk, to get drunk"

Evenk. soktō-	Ud. sokto-
Sol. soktoo-	Ulc. sokto-, sokti-
Neg. sokto-	Orok. sokto-, sokti-
Oroc. sokto-	Nan. sokto-

Mo. soγtu-, soγta- "to be[come] drunk, intoxicated (also fig.); to be in rut, heat (of animals)"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on semantic grounds.) /K 1410/

solbimbi "to put an arrow on a bowstring"

Oroc. sobbi- "to aim at"

Mo. solbi- "to place crosswise, cross (as legs); to clasp, join, close (as scissors)"

(Problematic semantically.) /SSTM II, 102/

solho "Korea, Korean"

Mo. solungɣus, solɣu "Korea, Korean"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 107/

solmin "eyelash; the end of a hair"

Evenk. sarimikta
Sol. sammikta, sarmitta "brows"
Ev. harᵽmtᵽ
Neg. sajimta
Oroc. sāmikta
Ud. sāmikta
Ulc. sarumta
Orok. sirmukta
Nan. sarmakta

Mo. sormusu(n), sormuusu(n) "eyelash"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM II, 66/

solohi, silihi "weasel (Mustela sibirica)" (Hauer has solhi as obsol.)

Mo. solungɣ-a "Siberian marten; weasel"

(Problematic.) /S 691/

soningga "new, fresh"

Evenk. sonun "news"
Ev. honun "news"

Mo. sonin "a) interesting; puzzling; strange, outlandish
b) news; newspaper"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with morpheme addition after borrowing.) /S 691/

sonio "odd (number); odd numbered line of a hexagram of the Book of Changes"

note also Ma. sonihon "odd (of numbers)" and Ma. soncoho "odd numbered"

Mo. sonduɣai "odd (of numbers)"

(Problematic; the form is stronger in Manchu than in Mongol.) /SSTM II, 111/

sonjombi "to choose, to select for an official post after having passed the state examination"

Sol. sonǰi- Ud. sanǰu-
Neg. sonǰu- Nan. sonǰo-

Mo. songγu- "to choose, elect, select; to poll, ballot, vote"

(Problematic, may be an early loan Mo. → Ma., see salja for similar palatalization of the velar in Ma.) /S 691/

sonokton "tassel on a helmet" (Hauer lists sonokdun as obsol. form)

Nan. sōno "plume"

Mo. sonubtur "plume or tuft of hair on a helmet"

(Problematic.) /K 1379/

soorin "throne, seat of honor"

Mo. saγuri(n) "place to sit, seat; dwelling, residence, lodging; foundation, base, abutment, pedestal, stand"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 112/

sorson "the flowers of onions, scallions, and leeks"

Mo. sorisu "wild leek, the dried flowers of which are eaten"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; SSTM missed this correspondence.)

soyombi "to tie up livestock to allow them to dry off after having sweated from running; to train a riding horse"

Mo. soyi- "to lay away for maturing or aging; to keep a horse tied up and on a special diet to prepare it for a race; to tie up a horse in the sun..."

Khalkha сойх

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /V 268/

su "whirlwind"

Evenk. sugī "storm, whirlwind"
Sol. sōwī, sūwai "storm, whirlwind"
Ev. huji "storm, whirlwind"
Neg. sogī "storm, whirlwind"
Oroc. sūi, suji "storm, whirlwind"
Ulc. sūi, suji "storm, whirlwind"
Orok. sui "storm, whirlwind"
Nan. sōi "storm, whirlwind"

Mo. siγurγa(n), suurγ-a(n) "snowstorm, blizzard; storm with cold rain"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 119/

subargan, subarhan, sumarhan "pagoda"

Mo. suburγ-a(n) "stupa, pagoda; tomb, sepulcher (for dignitaries, esp. clergymen) in the shape of a stupa"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on basis of pattern for Buddhist terminology.) /S 691/

sube "tendon, nerve, muscle"

Evenk. sumu	Ud. sumu
Sol. sumul	Ulc. sumul, sumuli
Ev. hum	Orok. xumu, sumu
Neg. sumu	Nan. sumul

Mo. sirbüsü(n), sirmüsü(n) "nerve, sinew, tendon; fibre, filament"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 126/

subehe "the end of a branch; the end of a hair from the beard"

Evenk. suwerē	Oroc. sune
Sol. sugur	Ulc. suwe
Ev. hūre	Orok. suwe
Neg. suwejē	Nan. suwe, sue

Mo. šobqu "pointed, cone-shaped"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 118/

subkelembi "to unravel, to take silk floss from a spindle"

Mo. semel- "to pull out, unravel; to separate into fibres or threads"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 116/

sudala "vein, artery, blood vessel; the geomantic veins of the earth"

Mo. sudal "anything running through something else; vein, artery, pulse; rings of a tree; lode (deposit of mineral); ridge; stripe, strip; hollow, dell, comb"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 119/

sudara "sutra"

Mo. sudur "sutra (class of chiefly Buddhist texts); book; textbook; chronicle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on basis of phonology and pattern for Buddhist terminology.)

suduri "history, chronicle, annal"

Mo. sudur "sutra (class of chiefly Buddhist texts); book; textbook; chronicle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., note the doublet <u>sudara</u> listed separately.) /HCG 4/

suhai moo "the tamarisk -- <u>Tamarix juniperus</u>"

Evenk. sukaj

Mo. suqai "tamarisk"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 121/

suhe "ax, halberd"

Evenk. suke
Sol. suxu Oroc. suke
Neg. suxe Ud. sugese(n)

Mo. sükе "axe, hatchet"

(Early Mo. → Tu.) /S 691/

suiha "artemisia, moxa; brush, overgrowth"

Neg. soġakta, saxakta
Oroc. suakta
Ulc. suakta, suwakta, soakta
Orok. suwakta, suakta
Nan. sōakta

Mo. suyiq-a "kind of absinthium, wormwood"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; the other Tu. forms are likely earlier borrowings.) /SSTM II, 105/

suihun "a large earring used by men"

Mo. süikü "ear ornaments worn by men"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 121/

sujambi "to prop up, to support; to push against, to resist, to be a match for"

Evenk. turga- "to prop up"
Neg. tojga- "to prop up"
Oroc. tugia- "to prop up"
Orok. tuda-, tudda- "to prop up"
Nan. tojga- "to prop up"

Mo. tulγa- "to press against; to make touch or reach; to charge with, lay on, impose; to confront"

(Problematic; the Ma. and Tu. phonology is consistent with an earlier or donor form *turga-, while no Mo. form with -r- is attested.)

suje "silk, silk material" J. suǰe "damask"

Evenk. tōrgā
Sol. tōgga, tōrga

Mo. torγ-a(n), torγu(n) "silk"

(Proposed by Norman 1977; early Mo. → Ma./J. on phonological basis; see page 12 for discussion of the sounds involved in the change. The Evenk. and Sol. forms are more recent borrowings by another route.)

sula "loose; idle, unoccupied, at leisure, free; incomplete; unemployed in an official capacity"

Evenk. sula "weak"
Orok. sulā-sulā bini "weak"

Mo. sula "loose, free; vacant, empty, unoccupied; idle; poor, weak (of mental capacity)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the Orok. and Evenk. forms borrowed by another route.) /K 1397/

sun "milk"

Mo. sün, sü "milk"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 691/

sundalambi "to ride double on a horse; to give hot pursuit, to pursue; to take up a matter again after it has passed"

Evenk. sundalā-
Sol. sundalā-

Mo. sundala-, sundula- "to ride on a horse, bicycle or motorcycle sitting behind the rider; to give somebody a ride behind or in front on the same horse, etc."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the semantic extension in the Ma. form is problematic.) /K 1382/

sunggembi "to waste away, to grow skinny and pale" (Hauer has sunggimbi as obsol. form)

Evenk. sūnŋī- "to stretch, extend"
Sol. suŋī- "to be stretched"

Mo. sunuγa-, sungγa- "to extend, stretch, lengthen"

(Problematic semantically; the Evenk. and Sol. forms are however clearly borrowings from Mo.) /SSTM II, 127/

sunggina "a type of wild onion that grows in cold spots and on cliffs"

Mo. songgin-a "onion"

(SSTM missed this correspondence. Probably Mo. → Ma. but the vowel of the first syllable in the Ma. form is problematic, the standard correspondence would be -o-.)/K 1386/

surambi "to hawk goods in a loud voice"

Mo. sura- "to inquire, interrogate; to ask in marriage"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /S 691/

surembi "to yell, shout"

Mo. sürkire- "to whistle (of wind)"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonetic grounds.) /SSTM II, 131/

suwe "you (plural)"

Evenk. sū	Oroc. su
Sol. sū	Ud. sū
Ev. hū	Orok. sū
Neg. sū	Nan. sue

Mo. ta "pron. of second person singular and plural (in polite address); used in plural sense only in connection with other indication of plurality"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 115/

ša "silk gauze, tulle" J. ša "gauze"

Mo. ša "light, soft Chinese silk, type of silk gauze; crepe; netting, screen (wire)"

(May be separately borrowed Mo. ← Chinese → Ma./ J.; source is Chinese sha 纱 .) /SSTM II, 423/

šabargan (Hauer) "a grain-filled cup wrapped in a handkerchief"

Evenk. siwarka "plait which is smeared on the runners of a sled"
Sol. šiwar "mud"

Mo. sibar "mud, slush, morass; marsh, mire; clay, plaster, stucco"

(Problematic semantically. The Ma. word denotes a type of poultice used to treat ill children, hence the correspondence is not to be dismissed outright.) /SSTM II, 74/

šabi "disciple, student"

Mo. šabi "disciple, pupil, student; novice, adherent; clerical or lay subject of a hutukhtu"

(Mo. → Ma., recent, on pattern for Buddhist terminology.) /HCG 3/

šagia "Sakyamuni"

Mo. šagyamuni, sigemuni "the Buddha Çakyamuni"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology.) /SSTM II, 423/

šala "edge, end, extremity; flank, side; remnant, scrap (of cloth)... corner, oblique angle, a lapel"

Mo. siγlaγasu(n) "small stitches, seam; gore or gusset in a garment"

(Problematic phonologically and semantically.) /SSTM II, 424/

šalangtu "a fat ox"

Mo. šalangtu "fat, fattened (of an animal)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 424/

šalumbi (Zakh. 664) "to heat by boiling"

Mo. siǰala-, silǰala- "to scald; to boil until soft"

(Dismissable on etymon grounds, the Mo. is a regular development from Mo. siǰa, silǰa "stewed meat; broth"; the Ma. is connected with Ma. šalu "heated, hot".) /SSTM II, 424/

šambi "to look, to look at"

Evenk. sigit-, sigič- "to peer, gaze on"
Sol. šigī- "to peer, gaze on"
Ev. h'ē- "to pop up"
Neg. sigat- "to look upon, peer at"
Oroc. sicili- "to peer at"
Ud. sīsi- "to peer at"
Ulc. silen- "to pop up"

Mo. siγa-, siqaγa- "to peer, look intently or searchingly; to peep through; to take aim"

Khalkha ᠤᠷᠠᠭᠠᠭ, ᠤᠷᠠᠭᠠᠬ
Buriat ᠤᠷᠠᠭᠠᠭᠠ

(Problematic. Poppe 1960 p. 115 and p. 133 sees as an Altaic correspondence, and traces the Mo. form to *sïgï-. But the phonology is by no means regular.) /SSTM II, 78/

šamtaba (Zakh. 665) "type of apron worn by lamas at service"

Mo. šamtab, šabtab "apron like pleated skirt worn by lamas when officiating"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, source is ultimately Tibetan çam thabs.) /SSTM I, 424/

šang "bestowal, reward"

Mo. šang "reward, award, prize"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese shang 賞 .) /SSTM II, 424/

šanyan "white" J. šangiyan "white; smoke"
note also Ma. šanggiyan "(white) smoke; white"

Oroc. čāgǰa
Ulc. čāgǰa(n)
Orok. tāgda
Nan. čāgǰa

Mo. čaγan "white (also political); light (of color); the white of an egg or of the eye..."

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.; but the presence of Ma. calfa, Evenk. čalban, Ev. čālban, Neg. čālban, Oroc. čāba, Nan. čalbã all meaning "birchbark" may indicate a pre-loan correspondence to the Mongol word for white quite apart from the ancient loan.) /HCG 6/

šaril "Buddhist relics"

Mo. šaril, šalir "holy relics; dead body or ashes of a dignitary"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis for Buddhist terms; ultimate source is Sanskrit çarīra.) /SSTM II, 425/

Šayo "vegetarian, a Buddhist, a Taoist" (Hauer has šayu as obsol.)

Mo. šayuu "lenten fare; meatless diet; vegetarian"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 423/

Šehun "barren, empty, forsaken"

Mo. čike, čeke "straight; honest, frank; straightforward, just"

(Dismissable on semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 420/

Šejilembi "to recite, to repeat by heart"

Mo. čegejile- "to learn by rote, memorize"

(Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, but problematic in terms of dating the loan. See cejen listed separately.) /S 692/

Šerembi "to glow, to be red-hot; to be white, to be pale"

Evenk. sirē- "to glow (of metal)"
Neg. sijel- "to make red-hot"
Orok. sireptun- "to make metal red-hot"

Mo. siri- "to smelt ore, melt"

Khalkha ширэх

(Problematic. The Ma. form may well be a borrowing from Mo. but is contaminated by the doublet form to Ma. šarambi "to become white", which is clearly shown by the second meaning of the Ma. form) /SSTM II, 97/

Šerhe "a dog sled"

Evenk. čērga
" sirgakān
Sol. š'irgōl
Ev. siarga

Mo. čirγ-a "sled, sledge, sleigh"

(Problematic. Ultimately a borrowing from Mongol into Ma. due to Mo. čir-, sire- "to drag, haul, pull along, trail along the ground" but the back vowel in the Mo. form is an anomaly. The Mo. form given is not likely to have been the donor for the Ma., though the Evenk. and Ev. forms are reflexes.) /K 2187/

šobkošombi "to eat with the hands; to behave uncouthly"

Mo. sibsig "something loathsome; nasty thing; baseness, disgrace"

(Dismissable on phonetic basis.) /SSTM II, 427/

šolo "free time, leisure, vacation, leave; opportunity; empty space"

Evenk. čulē
Sol. sölə̄, sulə̄

Mo. čilüge(n) "a) space in general b) space (temporal); leisure, freedom from work, relaxation, leave, vacation c) freedom in general..."

Khalkha челөө
Buriat шолоохой
Dagur (Kałużyński pt. 2 p. 134) šolō

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 692/

šolombi "to roast"

Evenk. sila- "to roast on a spit"
Sol. šila- "to roast on a spit"
Ev. hil- "to put on a spit"
Neg. silat-, silač- "to roast on a spit"
Orok. silotči- "to roast on a spit"
Nan. silo- "to roast on a spit"

Mo. sira- "to roast, broil, fry; to scorch, burn (of the sun); to gild"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 82/

šolon "fork, skewer, small forklike projection on a knife"

Evenk. silawun
Ev. hilun
Neg. silawun
Oroc. silō(n), sileu(n)
Ud. silou(n)
Ulc. silopun
Orok. silopu(n)
Nan. silpõ

note also Evenk. silan "shashlik"
Oroc. silo "shashlik"
Orok. silo(n) "shashlik"
Nan. silõ "shashlik"

Mo. šoru, siru "fork; spit (for holding meat over fire)"

note also Mo. siruγ, suruγ "screw; spit for cooking meat"

(Problematic. The Ma. and other Tu. forms are derived from the verb forms listed in Ma. šolombi above. The origin of the Mo. forms is unclear but the correspondence cannot be dismissed out of hand.) /S 692/

šongkon, šongkoro "the peregrine falcon (Falco peregrinus)"
(Hauer lists šanggon as obsol. form)
J. šinkoan "falcon"

Mo. singqur, šongqur "falcon, gerfalcon"

(Recent Mo Ma. for the form šongkoro; the other Ma. form an early Mo. → Ma./J. loan.) /SSTM II, 427/

šorgimbi "to urge, to press; to drill, to bore; to strike in one place (of arrows)"

Mo. čorgi- "to make a hole with a red-hot pin or awl; pierce with a hot iron"

(Problematic semantically.) /SSTM II, 427/

šorho "chick"

Mo. čurba "nestling, fledgling; young"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 418/

šulumbi "to mistreat, to harass (subordinates)"

Mo. čiqul, čuqul "narrow, tight, pressed; rage, irritability; nervousness"

(Dismissable on structural and phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 429/

šurga "snow blown by the wind; blowing sand"

Mo. siγurγa(n), šuurγa(n) "snowstorm, blizzard; storm with cold rain"

Khalkha шуурга

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 119/

šurgambi "to blow (of snow or sand in heavy wind)"
(Zakh. 688 also lists surambi with same meaning)

Mo. siγur- "to rage (as a storm); a blizzard or snowstorm breaks out"

Khalkha шуурах

(The Ma. form is no doubt related to šurga listed separately, while the Mo. form is the verb from which Mo. siγurγa(n) "snowstorm, blizzard" is derived. Thus the verb forms here have only an indirect connection with each other.) /S 693/

šusai "licentiate; student, young scholar"

Mo. šusai "title of a scholar who has passed the lowest of the official examinations in Imperial China"

(May be separately borrowed Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese hsiu-ts'ai 秀才 .) /SSTM II, 430/

šusiha "a whip" J. sušigai "whip"

Evenk. čęčuǧa
Sol. šisug
Ulc. susaxa
Nan. sosxa

Mo. sibsirγ-a, čibčirγa "stick or rod used for punishment"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 388/

šusin "a chisel"

Mo. čüče "chisel"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 430/

šusu "provisions, supplies"

Mo. sigüsü(n) "sap, juice; food (usually meat) for offerings; food for traveling officials..."

Khalkha шүүс(эн)

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis.) /S 692/

šušu "sorghum, kaoliang -- Andropogon Sorghum"

Nan. siso

Mo. sisi "kaoliang, sorghum"

(Problematic phonologically.) /K 1481/

šušan "a small hoe-shaped instrument for scraping the sides of pots"

Mo. qusuγur "scraper, small iron spade; scoop"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /SSTM I, 400/

šušunjambi "to whisper, to hum"

Evenk. siwutā- Neg. siwutā-
Ev. hiwulᵽn- Ulc. suwču-

Mo. sibene-, sibegene-, sibine- "to whisper"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM II, 76/

šuwa, ša "dense forest on the north side of a mountain"

Evenk. siġī Ud. siǰamp'ai
Ev. hiġi Ulc. seu
Neg. siwū, siġī, siġū Orok. sigi, sii
Oroc. siǰan "shrubbery" Nan. sio, siu

Mo. siγui "thicket, grove, forest"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM II, 77/

šuwe "direct, straight, totally; (with negatives) not at all, not in the least"

Mo. sibtu, šubtu "all the way through; to the core"

(Dismissable on semantic and phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 425/

taba "the smooth side of a gacuha" note Ma. gacuha "a toy or die made from the ankle bone of a sheep"

Mo. tab "head of a nail; rivet; metal plate; scab"

(Problematic semantically.) /SSTM II, 149/

tahan "clog, wooden shoe; horseshoe; a stepping stone; a piece of wood attached to the bottom of a shoe, a wooden shoe"

Evenk. taka

Mo. taq-a "horseshoe; metal or leather cleats on the heels of shoes"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. Ma. tahalambi "to nail on a horseshoe" is a back-formation.) /SSTM II, 153/

tahi "a wild horse (Equus przewalski)"

Mo. taki "wild horse, Equus przewalski"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 153/

tai "platform, terrace, stage"

Neg. ta "floor"

Mo. tai "platform"

(May be seapartely Mo. ← Chinese → Ma., source is Chinese t'ai 臺. The Neg. form perhaps is unrelated.) /SSTM II, 148/

taiboo "Grand Guardian -- an honorary title"

Mo. tayibuu, tayibu "title of a high court official; guardian of the heir apparent"

(Probably Chinese → Mo.→Manchu; source is Chinese t'ai-pao 太保.) /SSTM II, 152/

taibu "the main beam of a roof or a bridge" J. taibun "beam"

Sol. taibó
Neg. taibun
Oroc. taibola
Ulc. tajbu
Nan. tajbo, tajbu

Mo. tayibuu "ceiling joist"

(One of several words which appear to have a Chinese origin but where the Chinese donor form is unattested; problematic.) /SSTM II, 151/

taifin "peace, tranquillity"

Mo. tayibung, tayibing "peace, clamness, quietude, tranquillity; prosperity, happiness, bliss; peaceful, calm, happy"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is t'ai-p'ing 太平 .) /K 1549/

taifu "Grand Tutor-- an honorary title"

Mo. tayifu, tayipu "grand tutor of the heir apparent"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese t'ai-fu 太傅 .) /SSTM II, 152/

taigiyan "eunuch" J. taigiyen "chief eunuch"

Mo. tayiγam, tayiγan "castrated, eunuch; constable (hist.)..."

Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese t'ai-chien 太監 .) /V 291/

taiha "a hunting dog with long hair on the ears and tail"

Mo. tayiγ-a [noqai] "greyhound"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 152/

taiji "a Mongolian title"

Mo. tayiǰi "a Mongolian noble class; a title inherited only by descendants of Genghis Khan and his brothers"

(Chinese → Mo. → Ma.; source is Chinese t'ai-tzŭ 太子 .) /SSTM II, 152/

taisui enduri "the first of the year gods -- the planet Jupiter; the god of misfortune"

Mo. tayisui "the planet Jupiter"

(Perhaps separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese t'ai-sui 太歲 .) /SSTM II, 152/

taiši "Grand Preceptor -- an honorary title" (Hauer lists taisi as obsol. form)

Mo. tayisi "grand master, imperial teacher; honorary title of the first degree"

(Chinese → Mo. → Ma.; source is t'ai-shih 太師 .) /SSTM II, 152/

taiyûn "the name of a sea fish that resembles the bream"

Mo. taiyun (Kow. 1557) "name of a sea fish"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 152/

taizu (Hauer) "ancestor, founder of a dynasty"

Mo. tayiǰu "ancestor or founder of a royal dynasty"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese t'ai-tsu 太祖 .) /SSTM II, 152/

taka "temporarily, provisionally, for the time being, for a short time"

Sol. taka "temporarily"

Mo. taγ "completely, absolutely; exactly"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 153/

takambi "to know (a person), to recognize, to be familiar with"

Evenk. tāǧ- "to know, recognize; to guess, surmise"
Sol. tagda- "to know"
Ev. tā- "to know, find out"
Neg. tak- "to find out, notice"
Oroc. takki- "to find out"
Ud. tagda- "to recognize, see"
Ulc. takō- "to know"
Orok. tagdi- "to recognize"
Nan. tāko- "to recognize, come to know"

Mo. taγa- "to guess, surmise, solve a riddle; to suspect; to admit (the possibility)"

(Problematic semantically. TMEN #847 finds fault with the phonological correspondence, but that is actually quite strong. Note also Tü. (ED 435) tap- "to find".) /SSTM II, 149/

takiya "the knee of animals"

Ulc. taxi

Mo. takim "the ham, the hollow behind the knee joint"

(Problematic. There is no doubt this is Mo. → Ma. but the dating of the borrowing and donor form are unclear.) /PVG 13/

taktu "a storied building, tower; upstairs"

Neg. taktu
Ulc. taktu
Orok. taktu
Nan. taktu, takto

Mo. taγtu "attic, garret, mezzanine; tower; floor, story"

(Early Mo. → STu.) /SSTM II, 154/

takû "tench (fish)"

Nan. tako, taku

Mo. taqu "a kind of fish"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 154/

tala "plain, steppe (traversed by caravan roads); the space between lines of writing"

Mo. tal-a "a) plain, level space, steppe b) side, direction..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 693/

talambi "to confiscate, to seize (property as a legal punishment)"

Evenk. talā-
Ev. talā-

Mo. tala- "to take away, confiscate; to plunder; to ruin"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 156/

talambi "to make griddle cakes, to fry flat bread"

Mo. talq-a(n) "powder, flour, meal; bread"

(Dismissable on structural, phonological grounds.) /S 693/

talfa "a shallow place in a stream, shallow water"

Nan. talbõ "backwater"

Mo. talbiγu(n) "broad, wide, vast; gentle, calm"

(Problematic semantically.) /SSTM II, 157/

talgimbi "to scrape dressed leather"

Mo. talki- "to use a beater or scraping stick in tanning leather; to beat someone very hard, beat to exhaustion; to oppress with great labor, exploit"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 158/

tamišambi "to taste with the lips"

Mo. tamsiya-, tamsiyala- "to champ; to click the tongue; to taste food; to strum a stringed instrument; to pluck a bow string when trying out the bow"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II. 158/

tan "a sandbar, a small island in a river"

Mo. tang "shallow rapids"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma., source is Chinese t'an 灘 .) /SSTM II, 160/

tana "a precious freshwater pearl found in the rivers of eastern Manchuria"

Oroc. tana Ulc. tana

Mo. tana "mother-of-pearl"

(Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 4/

tang "a hall" J. tan "hall"

Mo. tang "church (applied to Christian churches in southern Mongolia"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma. on semantic basis; source is Chinese t'ang 堂 .) /SSTM II, 163/

tanggarik (Zakh. 697) "vow in Buddhism"

Mo. tangɣariɣ "solemn promise, oath, vow, pledge"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the final consonant indicates it remains a Mongolism within Ma., for the more assimilated form see tangkari listed separately.) /SSTM II, 162/

tanggin "hall, chamber, office of a high official"

Mo. tangkim, tanggim, tinggim "large hall, auditorium, governmental department"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 163/

tangkari (Zakh. 697) "vow in Buddhism"

Mo. tangɣariɣ "solemn promise, oath, vow, pledge"

(Recent Mo.→ Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology.) /SSTM II, 162/

tangsu, tangsun "darling, dear (children); delicate, tender"

Mo. tangsu "tenderness for children, caress, kindness"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 163/

tantu "a cultivating tool with a forked head"

Mo. tangdau "mattock, pickaxe; a type of plow which makes two furrows at a time, releasing seed and covering it"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma., source is Chinese t'ang-t'ou 溏頭 .) /SSTM II, 161/

tara "clabbered milk, curd"

Mo. taraɣ "clabbered milk, sour milk"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 167/

tarak (Hauer) "clabbered milk"

Mo. taraɣ "clabbered milk, sour milk"

(The final consonant of the Ma. form indicates this is a Mongolism within Manchu; for a more assimilated form see tara.)

taran "(heavy) sweat"

Mo. terelig, terlig "cotton-padded gown"

(Dismissable on phonetic and semantic grounds.) /SSTM II, 167/

tarbahi, tarbihi "marmot (Marmota bobak)"

Evenk. tarbaġā
Sol. tabxa, tarbaxa
Ev. tarbaxan

Mo. tarbaγa-(n) "marmot, Arctomys, 'tarbagan'"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with morpheme change in Ma. after borrowing.) /S 693/

tarbalji "one of the general names of the eagle"

Mo. tarbalǰi, tarbaǰi "sparrow hawk; tawny eagle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 693/

tarhûn, targû "fat"

Nan. targõ, targũ

Mo. taryu(n) "obese, stout, corpulent, corpulence, plump [ness], fat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 693/

tarimbi "to cultivate, to farm, to plow"

Evenk. tari-
Sol. tar-
Oroc. tariko-, tariku-
Ud. tali-
Nan. tari-

Mo tari- "to sow, plant; to plow; to inoculate against infection, vaccinate"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu., this is on the pattern of ancient Tü. → Mo. → Tu.; see TMEN #886.) /HCG 5/

tarni "dharani, magic formula, charm"

Mo. tarni "magic spells mostly consisting of Sanskrit syllables or words and/or unintelligible phonetic units used in religious and quasireligious rites; charms, dharani, mantra"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology. Ultimate source is Sanskrit dhāraṇī.) /SSTM II, 169/

tas seme "(onomat.) the sound of an arrow grazing an object"

Evenk. tas
Neg. tas-s
Oroc. toas
Ulc. tas-tas
Nan. tas, tas-tas

Mo. tas "onomat. expressive of a cracking sound, also of the idea of firmness, resoluteness, speed, swiftness"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM II, 169/

tasha "tiger, the Manchurian subspecies is Felis tigris amurensis"

J. tasha "tiger"

Sol. tasax "tiger"

Mo. tas "vulture, condor"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 170/

tasihimbi "to step against one's opponent from the side in wrestling"

Mo. tasi- "to beat, hit with a flat object, clap, slap; slam"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 170/

tasma "leather thong made of deer or antelope skin"

Oroc. tappirasu
Nan. taosa "braid"

Mo. tasam-a, tasm-a "narrow strip of leather, thong; tape"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the Oroc. and Nan. forms are problematic, possibly unrelated.) /K 1612/

tašan "false, spurious; error, mistake"

Mo. tasiy-a "hip, side; slits on both sides of a robe, skirt, or trousers; fault, error, blunder; misprint; lie, falsehood; false, erroneous"

Khalkha Ташаа "lie, falsehood"
Buriat Ташаа(н) "hip, side"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM II, 170/

tatambi "to pull, to pull at, to tear, to draw, to pull out, to extract; to strangle (a criminal as a form of capital punishment); to stop on a long journey, to halt, to lodge, to make camp... to pull apart, to rip"

Oroc. tata- "to have a cramp"
Ulc. tata- "to strengthen"
Nan. tata- "to pull"

Mo. tata- "to draw, pull, drag, twitch, stretch, attract; draw (a line); to install something long; to play (a musical instrument); to inhale; to chop or grind (as meat)..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the STu. forms may be borrowings from the Ma. but the semantics remain unclear.) /S 693/

tebcimbi "to endure, to suffer"

Evenk. tewse- "to worry; to not resist, to not refrain"

Mo. tebčiyerle- "to bear, endure; to abstain; to renounce"

(Problematic. SSTM lists Mo. tebči-, tebsi- "to abandon, leave; to abstain from; to renounce, reject" as a correspondence to the Ma. form. This provides a straightforward phonetic match but then the semantics are problematic.) /SSTM II, 225/

tebeliyembi "to hug, to embrace, to hold in the arms; to adopt a child"

Evenk. tewul-, tewel-
Oroc. teule-

Mo. teberi- "to encircle, encompass with or carry in one's arms; to embrace, press, or clasp against one's breast"

(Problematic phonologically. A recent or early loan Mo. → Ma. but donor form appears to have been an unattested Mo. *tebeli-.) /S 693/

tebke "a bone or wooden bridge or plate at both ends of a bow placed under the knots of the bowstring"

Mo. tebke "a little stick used for raising something; notched rest for the string in a bow; bridge of a stringed instrument"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.)

tebkejembi "to catch a shuttlecock that has been thrown up into the air while holding a gacuha in the hand, to hold a gacuha in the hand" (Hauer lists tebdejembi as obsol. form)

Evenk. tewe-, tēwē- "to catch in the air"
Ev. tew- "to catch in the air"
Neg. tewen- "to catch in the air"
Ud. tewen-e- "to catch in the air"

Mo. tebeg "shuttlecock; the button worn by officials on the hat (Manchu dynasty); topknot of hair (when the rest is shaved off)"

(Problematic. There is no noun form *tebke attested in Manchu, so the direction of loan is unclear.) /SSTM II, 266/

tebkelembi "to cut (meat) into small chunks"

tebkele- "to slice meat into square pieces; to cut into hexagonal form"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. tebke "a hexahedral object", Mo. tebke čai "a piece of brick tea". /SSTM II, 224/

tebumbi "to pour; to set out, to plant; to fill a vessel, to fill a pipe; to pack, to put in; to install (an official); to make liquor, to distill; to place a corpse in a coffin"

Evenk. tew-	Oroc. tewu-, teu-
Ev. tew-	Ud. teu-
Neg. tew-, tewu-	Orok. tewwe-, tewe-

(above Tungus forms with the meaning "to load, pack")

Mo. tegege-, tege- "to load; to convey, transport, transfer"

(Pre-loan correspondence. The Ma. form cited above is also the causative of Ma. tembi "to sit; to reside, to live; to occupy (a post)".) /SSTM II, 225/

tehe "Siberian ibex (Capra sibirica)"

Sol. texe

Mo. teke "wild goat, ibex (Capra siberica)..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 230/

teksin "even, equal, straight (not curved), of equal length or height" (Hauer lists teksi as obsol. form)

Evenk. tewši, tegši
Sol. tekči

Mo. tegsi "even, level, straight; equal(ity), tranquil(ity); uniform(ly)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, note Mo. teg γaǰar "level, desert place; field".) /S 693/

telembi "to stretch taut, to truss"

Evenk. tele-	Ulc. telu-
Neg. tele-	Orok. telle-, tele-
Oroc. tele-	Nan. tele-

Mo. tele-, teli- "to stretch (as a hide or bow), smooth by stretching (as textiles); to pull"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /K 1719/

telgin "belt (for trousers)" (Hauer lists telgiyen as obsol. form)

Evenk. teleġī	Ulc. tele
Ev. telgi	Oroc. telegi
Ud. teliʰe	

Mo. telei "belt for trousers"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 233/

temege coko "ostrich"

Mo. temegen kirγuul "ostrich"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., this phrase represents a combination of loan and loan-translation. Note Ma. coko "chicken", Mo. kirγuul "pheasant". For the more standard borrowing of the word for "camel" see below.)

temen "camel" J. temge "camel"

Evenk. temeġēn Oroc. teme
Sol. temegē̊ Nan. teme

Mo. temege(n) "camel; bishop (in chess)"

(Problematic. The Manchu form may well be an early borrowing from Mo. with loss of the velar consonant after borrowing. If this is the case then the Oroc. and Nan. forms are in turn borrowings from Ma.) /HCG 4/

temgetu "sign, signal, mark, brand, badge, stamp, emblem; (personal) seal, a seal used by low ranking provincial officials and clerks... evidence, proof, verification; certificate, receipt, written verification; license, permit, mainifest"

Mo. tamaγ-a(n), tamγa "seal, stamp; brand; branding iron; ace (in cards)"

(Problematic. There is no Ma. *temge attested, nor is there a Mongol form which shows front-vocalization.) /HCG 5/

temšembi "to compete, to vie, to contend, to quarrel"

Mo. temeče- "to fight, struggle; to contest, contend, argue, compete, rival; to strive for"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /HCG 5/

temurtu (Hauer) "iron" [as an adjective]

Mo. temür "iron, metal"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM II, 235/

tenggin "lake, inland sea"

Mo. tenggis "lake, sea"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /S 693/

tere "that; he, she, it"

Evenk. tar, tare, tari
Sol. tajā, tari
Ev. tar
Neg. taj
Oroc. ti, tej
Ud. tei, teji
Ulc. ti, tij
Orok. taja
Nan. tej

Mo. tere "demonstr. pron. that; he, she, it..."

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /HCG 6/

tib (Zakh. 731) "large island, part of the world in Buddhism"

Mo. tib "any of the four major 'continents' (dvīpa) or the eight minor 'continents' (upadvīpa) which in Indian mythology surrounds Mt. Sumeru; continent"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on basis of pattern for Buddhist terms.) /S 693/

to "a span, the distance between the outstretched thumb and the middle finger"

Evenk. toġor
Ev. toġᵽr
Neg. toġoj
Oroc. tō
Ud. tō
Ulc. tawali
Nan. tawar

Mo. tөge "span, the space from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the index or middle finger when extended"

Khalkha тее

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern for cultural items and concepts relating to trade.) /SSTM II, 191/

tob "straight, upright, serious, right, just"

Mo. tөb "center, middle; central, focus, pivot; straight, just, righteous; orthodox"
note also Mo. tob "clear(ly), distinct(ly), definite(ly)"

(Problematic, the expected form for a Ma. borrowing from Mo. tөb would be Manchu *tub. Possibly the Ma. form is contaminated by the Mo. tob cited above also.) /SSTM II,199/

todo, todai "bustard"

Evenk. tōdok
Ev. tuddaka

Mo. toγudaγ, toduγ, toγuduγ "bustard"

Khalkha Тодог, Тоодог
Buriat Тоодог

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 191/

togi (Zakh. 738), toki (Zakh. 736) "ostrich"

Mo. toki "ostrich"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 190/

toholon "tin"

Ulc. toxordo(n)
Nan. toxolgo(n) "lead"

Mo. tuγulγ-a(n), toγulγ-a "tin, lead"

Khalkha тугалга(н)

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 694/

tohoma "a leather covering that hangs down on both sides of the saddle for protection of the rider's legs"

Evenk. tokun "sweatcloth"

Mo. toqum "saddle fender made of felt or leather which is attached to the saddle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /S 694/

tohombi "to saddle (a horse); to hitch up (a wagon)"

Evenk. toku- "to saddle"
Sol. toxo- "to saddle"

Mo. toqu- "to put on or over; to reinforce something by putting something over; to put one thing over another"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic grounds.) /K 1798/

tohoro "wagon wheel"

Evenk. tokor- "to circle"
Neg. toxoj- "to circle"

Mo. tögerig, tögürig, tügürig "a) circle, disk; circular, round..."

(Problematic phonetically and semantically.)

toin (Zakh. 731) "religious personage in Buddhism"

Evenk. tojon "chief, master"

Mo. toyin "priest, monk, lama (originally limited to priests of noble descent)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on basis of pattern for Buddhist terminology; the term may be ultimately of Chinese origin through a Turkic intermediary, cf. ED 569, also TMEN #993.) /V 284/

tojin "peafowl, peacock"

Mo. toγus "peacock"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 191/

tok "(onomat.) the sound of striking a hollow wooden object"

Mo. toγ: toγ toγ "onomat. adv. tick tack, sound of hitting a hard object or walking on a wooden floor"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.)

toksimbi "to knock, to strike, to beat"

Evenk. tokto-	Ulc. tukturi-
Ev. towto-	Orok. tutuči-, tučči-
Neg. tokto-	Nan. toko- "to cut, chop"

Mo. toγsi-, tongsi- "to knock, rap, beat; to throb; to peck"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin; note <u>tok</u> above.) /K 1871/

tokso "village"

Mo. tosqun "settlement, village, hamlet"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with metathesis after borrowing.) /K 1831/

toktombi "to fix, to settle, to determine, to decide"

Sol. tokto-	Ulc. toktow-, toktou-
Neg. toktow-	Nan. toktō-
Oroc. tokto-	

Mo. toγta-, toγtu- "to stop, rest, become immobile; to set; to become fixed or established; to become stabilized; to depend on; to assume a shape or form; to come to a decision or agreement; to become engaged; to remain firm... to decide; to fix"

(Early Mo. → Tu. on semantic basis.) /K 1873/

tolbotu "a gray horse with circular markings on its side"

Mo. tolbutai, tolbutu "spotted, speckled, dappled"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 1858/

toli "a small mirror used by shamans"

Evenk. tōlę̄n, tolęŋ
Sol. toli
Neg. tolin "decoration"
Ulc. toli "disk"
Orok. toli "disk"
Nan. tolī "disk"

Mo. toli(n) "a) mirror, metal plate b) dictionary, lexicon, vocabulary"

(Early Mo. → STu.) /S 694/

tomilambi "to dispatch, to delegate, to assign, to appoint, to give a commission to"

Mo. tomila- "delegate, appoint, give a commission"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 196/

tomorhon "clear, lucid"

Mo. tomuraγun, tomurun "clear, distinct, intelligible; enlarged"

Khalkha томруун

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 196/

ton "number; counting, reckoning"

Sol. tōn āš'i "without number"
Ud. tau(n)
Nan. taõ, taũ

Mo. toγ-a(n) "number, figure, numeral; amount, quantity"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /S 694/

tonggo "thread, string" J. togo "thread"

Evenk. tomko
Evenk. tomko- "to spin thread"
Sol. toŋxo- "to spin thread"
Ev. tomkᵽ- "to spin thread"
Neg. tomko "thread"
Neg. tomko- "to spin thread"
Oroc. tompo "thread"
Oroc. tompo- "to spin thread"
Ulc. tompo(n) "thread"
Ulc. toŋpi- "to spin thread"
Orok. tokpo, topko "thread"
Orok. tonko-, tokpo- "to spin thread"
Nan. tompo "thread"
Nan. tompo- "to spin thread"

Mo. tamu-, tomu- "to twist or spin thread or rope"

(Pre-loan correspondence.) /SSTM II, 196/

tonggolimbi "to turn a somersault"

Evenk. toŋkoj-
Neg. toŋgalikta-

Mo. tongγur- "to turn or tumble over, fall head over heels, turn a somersault"

(Mo. → Ma., note also Mo. tongγui- "to stoop, bend; to incline the head; to bow"; the dating of the loan is problematic.) /SSTM II, 197/

torimbi "to wander, to roam"

Evenk. tuġurujē-

Mo. toγuri- "to go about, circle; to surround, encompass, circumvent, detour, circumambulate; to tour..."

Khalkha тойрох

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 694/

toro "peach"

Mo. toγur, tuur, tour "peach"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis. Hauer p. 918 suggests the Ma. form is a hybrid with the final syllable taken from the ending of the Ma. word soro meaning "jujube", this suggestion must be dismissed as fanciful. The Mongol is a borrowing from Chinese t'ao-erh 桃兒 .) /V 218/

toron "flying dust, a dust storm"

Evenk. tōrag "dust"

Mo. toγuraγ "particles of matter suspended in a liquid"

Khalkha тоорог
Buriat тоорог "dust, specks (of dust)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., the donor form for the Ma. likely a Buriat dialect on semantic grounds.) /S 694/

tosombi "to guard against, to prepare for in advance; to intercept, to cut off, to ambush on the way, to lie in wait for"

Mo. tos- "to receive, to encounter, go to meet someone who is coming; to catch something moving toward the subject"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 694/

tu "a large military standard; banner cavalry, banner guard"

Ulc. tū(n)
Nan. tū̃

Mo. tuγ "flag, standard, banner"

(Problematic. The word is ultimately Chinese in origin and the path of borrowing is unclear.) /S 695/

tubet "Tibet, Tibetan"

Mo. tȫbed "Tibet, a Tibetan"

(Mo. → Ma. on phonological basis.) /SSTM II, 203/

tukšan "calf"

Evenk. tukučēn
Sol. tuxsā̃
Ev. tū-, tuġu- "to calve"

Mo. tuγul "calf"

Khalkha туγал
Buriat туγал

(Problematic; it is almost certainly a case of loan Mo. → Ma. but the dating is unclear. The Sol. form is a borrowing in turn from Manchu.) /SSTM II, 210/

tulum "a cow- or sheepskin filled with air that is used to support the body across a river"

Evenk. tulumkān
Sol. tolmá

Mo. tulum "whole skin used as a vessel for liquids; leather bag"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 212/

tulume "a belt made of lacquered rattan, filled with air to aid a person crossing a river"

Mo. tulum "whole skin used as a vessel for liquids; leather bag"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., note Manchu doublet tulum above.) /K 1855/

tumen "ten thousand, a myriad" J. tuman "ten thousand"

Evenk. tumin
Sol. tumũ
Neg. tume
Oroc. tume
Ud. tume
Ulc. tume(n)
Nan. tumẽ

Mo. tüme(n) "ten thousand; the masses, multitude, myriad; indefinitely large number: a military unit of 10,000 men (hist.)"

(Mo. → Tu. but the dating is unclear. TMEN #983 appears to consider the J. form a borrowing from Khitan. If this is true then the Ma. form is likely tobe a recent or early borrowing, that is, later than the J. borrowing from Khitan.) /HCG 6/

tura "pillar, supporting pole in a tent" J. tura "pillar"

Evenk. turu "pillar; mast"
Sol. törđ "doorpost"
Neg. tojo "pole..."
Oroc. tū "pole"

Ulc. tura, turu "pillar"
Orok. toro, torro, turu "pillar; doorpost"
Nan. tora "pillar"
Nan. toro "pole"

Mo. tur-a "fortress, city, town"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /S 695/

turaki "jackdaw"

Evenk. turakī "crow"
Evenk. turlakī "jackdaw"
Sol. turāki "jackdaw"
Sol. turāxi "crow"
Ev. turpki "crow"
Neg. torāxī "crow"
Oroc. tuaxi, tuwaki "rook"
Ud. tua'i "crow"
Ulc. towa, tuwa "jackdaw, magpie"
Orok. tuwa "jackdaw, rook"
Nan. torāki "jackdaw, rook"

Mo. turlaki "red-crested jackdaw"
note also Mo. turlaγ "rook (Corvus corone)"

Buriat туралаар "crow"
Khalkha туралах "rook"

(Problematic. The Ma. form is likely a borrowing from Mo. but contaminated by the native Tungus word for "crow", which SSTM suggests can be derived from the Tungus stem *tura- "to open (the mouth)".) /S 695/

ture "the leg of a boot"

Evenk. tirēkse
Neg. tijekse
Oroc. tijekse, tiekse
Ud. tieʰe
Ulc. turekse
Orok. turekse
Nan. turekse

Mo. türei, türüi "bootleg, boot-tip"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on phonological basis.) /S 695/

turga "thin, skinny, lean" J. turha "lean"

Evenk. turumkaj
Nan. torxa

Mo. turangqai "lean, thin; exhausted, worn out"

(Mo. → Ma./J. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. tura- "to become lean".) /K 1880/

turgen "fast, swift; urgent, acute, serious (illness)"

Evenk. turgenǰi
Ev. turgun
Neg. tujgen
Oroc. tugge(n)
Ud. tuge
Ulc. turge(n)
Nan. turgẽ

(above Tu forms with meaning "fast, swift")

Mo. türgen "quick, swift, rapid, speedy; hurried; soon"

(Mo. → Tu. on phonological basis. This is a loan of the early rather than the ancient period.) /S 695/

turigen "rent; wages"

Ulc. turi(n)
Nan. turĩ

Mo. türiyesü(n) "rent, lease"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with morpheme change in Ma. after borrowing.) /SSTM II, 219/

tusa "profit, gain, benefit, advantage"

Evenk. tuhān
Sol. tosa
Ev. tuha

Mo. tusa "use, benefit, advantage, profit; utility, significance, role; aid, assistance, favor"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /HCG 5/

tushû "a cup given to guests to drink from at the door"

Mo. tusqu "a drinking cup offered to those who visit a newly married couple"

(Likely to be a recent Mo. → Ma. loan on pattern basis, though the word does not survive in modern Mongol dialects.) /K 1832/

tusihiya "a net for catching falcons"

Mo. tusiy-a, tuša, tušaγ-a "shackles, fetters or hobbles..."

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 222/

tušambi "to commission, to charge with"

Mo. tusiya- "to hand over, put in charge of, charge with, order, to entrust to someone; to surrender to the authorities"

Khalkha тушаах

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 224/

u "thorn"

Evenk. uġu- "to prick oneself"
Ev. eġ "thorn"
Neg. oġe- "to prick oneself"

Mo. ǒrgesü(n), ǒrgüsü(n) "thorn, splinter"

Khalkha өргөс(өн)

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 247/

ubasaca (Zakh. 148) "laywoman, not entering a monastery (in Buddhism)"

Mo. ubasanča "a laywoman devoted to religious duties, laywoman who has taken a lower vow"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology.) /SSTM II, 242/

ubasi (Zakh. 148) "layman taking religious vows without entering a monastery"

Mo. ubasi "a layman who has taken certain religious vows"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern for Buddhist terminology.) /SSTM II, 242/

ubu "portion, share, part, responsibility; times, -fold"
J. ubu "percent"

Evenk. kowī
Sol. og "fate, destiny"

Neg. obu
Oroc. ubu
Ud. obo
Ulc. ubu
Orok. ubu
Nan. obo

Mo. qubi "a) part, share, portion; allotment; one's own lot, concern, or affair; copy or issue (of a book, magazine, newspaper, etc.) b) part (calculus), grade, degree; minute (in geometry and chronometry)"

(Problematic. The Evenk. form is a recent borrowing from Mo., but the relation of the other Tu. forms, including the Ma., is unclear. Possibly an ancient loan on the pattern of orin.) /SSTM I, 403/

uca "tail bone"

Sol. ūsa
Oroc. učа, učča "stern of a boat"

Mo. uɣuča "sacrum; croup, rump, the posterior part of an animal's back; small of the back..."

Khalkha yyu

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 290/

ucarambi "to meet, to encounter"

Mo. učira-, učara- "to meet, come across; to be confronted; to happen to be; to meet during the cycle of transmigration (Buddh.)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 625/

uce "door"

Evenk. urke "door, opening"
Sol. ǒrxǒ, urkǒ "smokehole"
Sol. ukke, urke "door"
Ev. urkɐ "door, entrance"
Neg. ujke "door"
Oroc. ukke "door"
Ud. ukke "door"
Ulc. uče "door"
Orok. ute "door"
Nan. ujke "door"

Mo. erüke, ǒrke "smoke hole in the roof of a yurt...flap covering a smoke hole; household; family; statistical unit used in census"

(Pre-loan correspondance.) /PVG 56/

udu "how many? how much?; several"

Evenk. adī	Ud. adi
Sol. adī	Ulc. xadu
Ev. adi	Oroc. adi
Neg. adī	Nan. xado, xadu

Mo. kedü(n) "how much? how many? how many times? some, several, few, several times"

(Dismissable on phonological basis.) /SSTM I, 15/

udumbara "fig"

Mo. udumbar, udambar "fig tree"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, source is ultimately Sanskrit udumbara.) /SSTM II, 248/

ufuhi "part, share, portion" (Hauer lists ufihi as obsol. form)
J. ubu "percent"

Evenk. kowī	Ud. obo
Sol. og "fate, destiny"	Ulc. ubu
Neg. obu	Orok. ubu
Oroc. ubu	Nan. obo

Mo. qubi "a) part, share, portion; allotment; one's own lot, concern, or affair; copy or issue...b) part (calculus), grade, degree; minute (in geometry and chronometry)"

(Problematic; note ubu listed separately.) /SSTM I, 403/

uhuken "soft, weak; gentle" J. ulhuhen "soft"

Mo. ükenče "stupid, feeble"

(Problematic phonologically.) /SSTM II, 255/

uhûlja "wild sheep, argali, Darwin's sheep (Ovis ammon)"
(Hauer lists uhûlji as obsol. form)

Mo. uqun-a, uqan-a "male goat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis, with morpheme change after borrowing.) /SSTM II, 255/

uhûmbi "to gouge, to scoop out"

Mo. uqu- "to dig, excavate, poke out, chisel out; to cut out; to find or expose someone's fault"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 255/

ukada "a mound with grass growing on it" (Hauer lists ukûda as obsol. form)

Evenk. ukurī

Mo. uqaγ-a "hill, elevation (in a plain)"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 256/

uksun "clan, family, kin; members of the imperial family descended from Nurhaci"

Mo. uγsaγ-a "origin, descent, race, nation, nationality, stock"

(Problematic.) /K 429/

uktu "plaintive, sad"

Mo. ukila- "to cry, sob, weep"

(Dismissable on structural grounds.) /SSTM II, 254/

uladambi "to be lame because of a damaged hoof"

Mo. ulada- "to develop sores on the soles of the feet; to limp (of camels, cattle, etc.); to become intense (of illness)"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 257/

ulhû "reed" (Hauer lists ulgû as obsol. form; Zakh. 161 lists also ulho with same meaning)

Evenk. ulgukta
Sol. xolčũ
Neg. ojgokto
Oroc. ugukta
Ud. uguŋkije
Ulc. xolgakta
Orok. xuldukta, puldukta
Nan. xolgokta

Mo. qulusu(n) "rush, reed, bamboo"

(Problematic.) /S 625/

uli "fruit of the flowering cherry (Prunus sinensis)"

Evenk. ulīkta "crab apple tree"
Sol. ulītte "crab apples"
Ud. uliŋkie "apples..."
Ulc. unikte "crab apple"
Nan. un'ikte "crab apple"

Mo. ǒlir "kind of wild apple"

Khalkha өрөл

(Ancient Mo. → Tu. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 261/

umiyelembi "to tie (a belt), to gird oneself" note also Ma. umiyesun "girdle, girth, belt, sash"

Evenk. umulā-
Evenk. umul "belt"
Sol. omol "belt"
Neg. omulā-
Neg. omol "belt"
Oroc. umula-
Oroc. umu "belt"
Ud. umule-
Ud. umu "belt"
Ulc. umala-
Ulc. umali, omali "belt"
Orok. umul'l'a-
Orok. umul "belt"
Nan. omola-
Nan. omol "belt"

Mo. umui- "to become narrow, tight, or small (of an opening)"

(Problemtaic, this is likely to be a Mongol loan into Tu. on semantic grounds but the exact donor form is unclear.) /SSTM II, 269/

un "a place for pigs to sleep"

Mo. ŭniy-e(n) "cow"

(Dismissable on semantic basis.) /SSTM II, 274/

unahan "colt, foal"

Evenk. unukān

Mo. unaɣ-a(n) "foal up to one year, yearling colt"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on etymon basis, cf. Mo. <u>una-</u> "to fall, fall down".) /S 624/

uncambi "to sell"

Evenk. unijē-
Sol. unī-
Ev. uni- "to buy; (dialectal) to sell"

Mo. ün-e "price; value, cost"

(Dismissable on structural and phonological grounds.) /SSTM II, 274/

unenggi "true, really, honestly; true, honest, genuine"

Evenk. unerē
Sol. unẽ

Mo. ünen "truth; faithfulness; justice; true, genuine, real, authentic"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., with suffix addition after borrowing.) /S 624/

unggala "flash vent of a musket hole, cavity; cavity of the ear, hole in a tree" (Zakh. 123 has <u>ongola</u> "cavity of the ear")

Evenk. uŋulu
Neg. oŋolo
Oroc. oŋgo "cave"
Ud. ongo "cave"
Ud. uŋulu "hole"
Ulc. oŋgolo
Nan. oŋgolo

Mo. ongɣurqai, ongɣarqai "opening, orifice, gap, hole; breach; open hollow"
<u>note also</u> Mo. ongqur "cavity, hollow (of a bowl or other concave vessel); hollow, concave, bowl-shaped"

(Ancient Mo. → Tu.) /SSTM II, 280/

uniyen "female of certain animals, a milk cow"

Sol. unigẽ, unegẽ

Mo. üniy-e(n) "cow"

Khalkha үнээ

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

unucun "a child born after the death of his father"
Sol. unčĭ

Mo. ǒnŭčin "orphan"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

urdembi "to race a horse"

Mo. uruldu- "to race; to compete"

(Problematic; note uruldembi listed separately.) /SSTM II, 284/

urgan "a lasso (either a rope or a noose on the end of a pole)"

Mo. urγ-a(n), uγurγ-a "a long wooden pole with a loop on the end used to catch horses"
Khalkha уурга

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 625/

urgen "length, extension"
Evenk. urgun

Mo. ǒrgen "wide, broad, vast; width"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 625/

urhûmbi "to shy (of livestock)"

Mo. ŭrge-, ŭrgŭ- "to be[come] alarmed or frightened"
Khalkha үргэх (has the specific meaning of "for animals to become alarmed or frightened")

(Problematic phonologically.) /S 626/

urkuji, urkulji "often, continuously, steadily, uninterruptedly"
(Hauer has urgulji as obsol. form)

Mo. ŭrgŭlǰi "always, constantly, continuously; whole, entire; consisting of one piece; throughout; all over"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 283/

ursan "new shoots that sprout from old roots, new branches that appear on a tree that has been cut away"

Mo. urγu- "to grow, sprout; to appear, show up; to rise (of the sun)"

(Problematic.) /SSTM II, 286/

uruldembi "to race a horse, to test a horse for speed"

Mo. uruldu- "to race; to compete"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM II, 284/

usiha "star" J. ošiha "star"

Evenk. ōsīkakta, ōsīkta
Sol. ōš'ikta
Ev. ōsikat
Neg. ōsikta
Oroc. xosakta
Ud. waikta, waʰikta
Ulc. xosita, xosta
Orok. wasikta
Nan. xosakta

Mo. odu(n) "a) star b) order, decoration, medal or badge of honor"

(Proposed by Sinor 1973, this is dismissable on phonological basis.)

usiha "acorn"

Evenk. usikta "oak"
Ud. uʰikta
Ulc. osta
Nan. xosakta, osakta

Mo. qusi "cedar, Siberian pine"

(Problematic semantically and phonologically.)

usumbi "to go downstream, to go with the current"

Mo. usu(n) "water; body of water"

(Dismissable on semantic and structural basis.) /SSTM II, 291/

usuršembi "to detest, to find unpleasant" (Hauer lists usurembi as obsol. form)

Evenk. ustun-
Ev. ēsej-

Mo. ösi- "to hate, bear extreme ill-will, feel vengeful; to spite"

(Dismissable on phonological basis; the Ev. form is likely a borrowing, however, from Mo.) /SSTM II, 291-292)

utbala ilha "a red lotuslike bloom"

Mo. udbala [čečeg] "Aquilegia sibirica, Aquilegia viridflora"

(Recent Mo. → Ma., ultimate source is Sanskrit utpala.) /SSTM II, 293/

uturi (Hauer) "the end of a battue"

Mo. utu "the end of the chain of hunters in a battue"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. with suffix addition in Ma. after borrowing.) /K 387/

uyan "thin, diluted, weak, feeble"

Evenk. uya- "to be soft (of metal)"
Ev. ujiġ
Ulc. uja(n)
Nan. ojã

Mo. uyan "soft, flexible, resilient, elastic; weak (also of character); tender"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 624/

uyu "turquoise"

Mo. ogiu, giu, oyu(n), oyu "turquoise"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM II, 252/

uyun "nine"

Evenk. jeġin
Sol. jegĭ
Ev. ujun
Oroc. xuju(n)
Ud. jei, jeji
Ulc. xuju(n)
Orok. xuju(n)
Nan. xujũ

Mo. yisü(n) "nine; the ninth of the month; nine (playing card)"

(Dismissable on phonological grounds.) /PVG 31/

wacir "thunderbolt of Indra, sacred instrument used in Lamaist rites as a symbol of the indestructible"

Mo. vačir, včir, očir "thunderbolt; diamond; sacred instrument used in Buddhist ceremonies as a symbol for the "indestructible element"; the absolute"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.; ultimate source is Sanskrit vajra.) /SSTM I, 131/

wadan "cloth wrapping; curtain around a sedan chair; an unpadded bed cover; cloth of a flag, flag, banner"

Nan. wādã

Mo. vadang "cloth wrapper; cover"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis; the Nan. is borrowed from the Ma.) /SSTM II, 129/

wang "prince; (in antiquity) king, monarch" J. wan "king"

Mo. vang "prince"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /SSTM Ii, 130/

wase "tile" J. waǰi "tile"

Sol. váse ontsí "brick"

Mo. vaɣar, var-a "tile"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; cf. Chinese wa 瓦 .) /K 2566/

weilen "work, construction" (Hauer lists uilen as a newer form) J. weile "affair"

Evenk. ulehit
Ev. ulehit
Ulc. ujle- "to work"
Orok. uile-, ujle- "to work"
Orok. ujle "work"
Nan. ujle- "to work"

Mo. ǔile "work; act; occupation, employment, service; action, deed; fate, destiny; needlework"

(Mo. → Tu., dating of loan is uncertain.) /HCG 5/

wesihun "upward, up; eastward, east; honorable, revered, respected" J. wesi "above"

Evenk. uġĪ "top; height; ceiling"
Sol. ǒg, ug "bank"
Ev. eġəġ "upper"
Neg. uwu, ugu, uu "upper"
Oroc. uile "upward, above"
Ud. uixi "upward"
Ulc. ujle "above"
Orok. ujdu, ujenu "above"
Nan. uwuj "upper"

Mo. ǒgede "upwards, uphill, upstream; towards, against"

(Pre-loan correspondence. TMEN #49 argues that the semantic differences are too great for a Mo. → Tu. correspondence but is not convincing.) /SSTM II, 246/

ya "which? what?"

Evenk. ē	Neg. ēwa
Sol. ī	Oroc. jawu
Ev. ǣġaj "why"	Ud. j'eu

Mo. yaɣu(n) "what? what kind of? which?"

(Mo. → Tu. early.) /S 626/

yabumbi "to go, to walk, to leave; to act, to perform, to carry out, to put into effect; to serve (at a post)"

Sol. jabó-, jabu- "to go"

Mo. yabu- "a) to go; to walk; to depart, go away b) to act or conduct oneself as, lead the life of; to be; to move, play (chess, cards)..."

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis. Note yafahan listed separately.) /HCG 5/

yadambi "to be poor, to be wretched, to suffer want; to be weak on one end (of a bow)"

Evenk. ǰadaŋ- "to grow poor"

Sol. jada- "to be unable"
Neg. ǰadaŋ "poor"
Oroc. jada- "to be tired"
Ud. jada- "to be tired"
Ulc. jada-, jadu- "to be tired"
Nan. jada- "to be tired"

Mo. yada- "to have no strength or power; to exhaust; to be in need; to suffer; to be unable"

(Early Mo. → STu., the Ma. form has been semantically supplemented by more recent contact with Mongol. The NTu. forms are borrowings by another route.) /K 2276/

yafahan "pedestrian, on foot" (Hauer lists yafagan and yafaha as obsol. forms)

Evenk. jawkan
Sol. jaukán
Nan. jafka

Mo. yabuγan, yabaγan "pedestrian, on foot; smallish, petty, short "

Khalkha явган

(Early Mo. → Ma.; note yabumbi listed separately, which is a more recent borrowing than yafahan due to the reflex of the labial consonant.) /K 2257/

yak "(onomat.) the sound made by a whip"

Mo. ———

Khalkha яг "the sound of something striking firmly"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 289/

yaksimbi "to close, to shut, to bolt"

Neg. lakči-
Oroc. lakči-, jakči-
Ud. jakčiga-
Ulc. jakču-, jaksi-
Nan. jakči-

Mo. yaγsi- "to be firm or unyielding; to be obstinate; to be resolute or determined; to stick to; to be obtrusive or importunate; to lock"

(Problematic phonologically, may be ultimately onomat. in origin.) /SSTM I, 339/

yamun "a government office, yamen, headquarters; the court, palace"

Ud. jamu
Nan. jamu

Mo. yamun "office, bureau, ministry; people's commissariat; administration, management"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese ya-men 衙門 .) /K 2292/

yan "(Chinese) ounce, tael" J. yan "tael"

Sol. jã̄
Nan. jã̄

Mo. lang "a Chinese unit of weight, 37.3 gram; a tael or ounce of silver"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma./J.; source is liang 兩 .) /SSTM I, 336/

yanggar seme "sounding for a long time, reechoing"

Evenk. jaŋgu- "to make a loud noise, thunder"
Ev. n'aŋɐlɐn- "to clang, jingle"
Oroc. iŋguri batu "(folkloristic) thundering hero"
Ud. iŋguteli- "to ring, peal, jingle"
Ulc. iŋguren- "to ring, peal, jingle"
Nan. iŋguri- "to ring, peal, jingle"

Mo. yanggiy-a "sharp, high-pitched sound"

(Problematic due to onomat. origin.) /SSTM I, 342/

yanggir iman "a wild sheep of Shensi that resembles the female argali"

Sol. jaŋir "mountain goat"

Mo. yanggir imaγ-a "mountain goat"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2244/

yangse "form, kind, appearance, model, style; beauty, comeliness; beautiful, splendid, comely"

Ud. jaŋǰa "decoration"

Mo. yangǰu "shape, form; aspect; expression of the face, complexion; manner or way of doing a thing; kind, sort, type; character, conduct, mood"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese yang-tzŭ 樣子 .) /SSTM I, 342/

yarha "leopard (Felis pardus)" (Hauer lists yarga as obsol. form)
J. yarha "panther"

Ud. jaga, jag'æ

Mo. irbis "panther, leopard"

(Problematic.) /SSTM I, 337/

yargiyalambi "to be wounded in battle"

Sol. jára ačá "harmless"

Mo. yar-a "ulcer, boil, sore; scab, mange; knot in wood"

(Problematic.) /SSTM I, 343/

yatuhan, yatugan "a zitherlike instrument having 14 strings" (Hauer lists yattuha and yatuha as obsol. forms)

Mo. yatuγ-a "zither harp"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /K 2278/

yekengge "noble, grand"

Mo. yeke "great, big, large (both physical and abstract); older, elder; majestic, imposing; adult (adj.); much, very, greatly"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on semantic basis. The suffix on the Ma. form was added after borrowing. Note also ikengge listed separately.) /SSTM I, 302/

yenden "ascent, rise"

Evenk. jendōr, jendēr "floor"

Mo. inder, yender "stage, pedestal, platform, foundation, elevation, stand; (instructor's) chair, pulpit"

(Dismissable on semantic basis. The Evenk. forms are, however, borrowings from Mo.) /S 626/

yeru "hole, pit, den (of tigers, panthers, leopards, wildcats, etc.)"

Nan. jēru

Mo. elü "hole, cave, den, burrow, lair"

(Recent Mo. → Ma.) /SSTM I, 356/

yohindarakû (Hauer) "careless"

Mo. yokir "unfriendly, ungracious, rude"

(Dismissable on phonological and structural basis.) /SSTM I, 346/

yolo "cinereous vulture (Vultur monachus)"

Mo. yolo sibaγun (Kow. 2389) "type of large eagle"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /V 371/

yoso "principle, rule, way" (Hauer lists yosu and yoson as obsol. forms)

Evenk. joso, josu
Sol. joso

Mo. yosu(n) "generally accepted rule, traditional custom, habit, or usage; etiquette; doctrine, dogma, principle; regime, system; policy, mode, manner, method"

(Recent Mo. → Ma. on pattern basis.) /S 626/

yuwamboo "a large bar of silver weighing fifty taels" (Hauer lists yuwan boo as an alternate form)

Ulc. jombo, jembe
Nan. jembe

Mo. yuvambuu "silver ingot"

(May be separately Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese yüan-pao 元寶 .) /SSTM I, 347/

z'ang (Hauer) "state granary"

Mo. sang "treasury, storehouse, granary, treasure"

(Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.; source is Chinese ts'ang 倉 .) /SSTM II, 373/

FINDINGS AND OBSERVATIONS

In the preceding Lexicon I have examined 1,266 proposed correspondences between Mongol and Manchu.[1] The table below shows the results of the classification of each of these correspondences into one of eight categories.

classification	number	percentage of total
Recent Mo. → Ma.	546	43.12%
Early Mo. → Ma./J.	84	6.63%
Ancient Mo. → Tu.	49	3.87%
Pre-loan	58	4.58%
Problematic[2]	308	24.32%
Ma. (or Tu.) → Mo.	12	.94%
Mo. ← Chinese → Ma.	38	3.00%
Dismissable	171	13.50%

This classification of Mongol elements in Manchu has been a necessary first step toward clarification of the relationship between the two languages, and now offers a means of approach toward the remaining phonological problems.[3] I hope that in future, as more light is cast on the phonological history of Manchu, the classification scheme itself can be refined, in turn increasing the scope of phonological study.

In addition to the specific question of the Mongol-Manchu relationship there is, of course, the greater question of the implications of the classification in regard to the Altaic theory. The fact that 43% of the correspondences are attributable to recent loans from Mongol into Manchu indicates the strength of recent contacts between the Mongols and the Manchus as well as the debt which the Manchus owe to Mongol culture, but this has little bearing on the question of genetic relationship and proto-language contact.

The vocabulary of the pre-loan period tells us something of the nature of the culture shared in earliest times. There are a great number of names for body parts: arm, mouth, breast, thumb, gall bladder, eyelash (gala, angga, huhun, ferhe, silhi, solmin), spatial relationships: over there, to cross over, inside, middle, upward (cala, dabambi, do, dulin, wesihun), and words of family relationship: elder brother, uncle/father (ahun, ecike). In addition there are pronouns: we, this, that (be, ere, tere). Only some of the Manchu terms mentioned above have a Turkic correspondence. In cases where the relationship is only shared by Mongol and Tungus it may be necessary to give a new label to that non-loan relationship, or else to redefine the term "Altaic", which has traditionally included Turkic as well.

NOTES

1. There are further plausible correspondences between Mongol and Manchu in addition to the 1,266 I have treated here, but I believe I have covered the vast majority and that the results are valid for the whole.

2. It should be remembered that a fair portion of the problematic cases are onomatopoetic in nature, and another portion are recent loans from Chinese into one or both languages, where there is insufficient evidence to state whether the loan into Manchu is directly from the Chinese or via Mongol.

3. One of the phonological problems has been the discrimination and proper assessment of native Tungus stock and native phonology apart from the Mongol loan influence. This problem has been alluded to in the Lexicon (see the discussion under beye, for example). A study of the phonology of native Tungus stock necessitates the separation of ancient loan words from the indigenous material, while the differentiation of such material depends, paradoxically, on a firm knowledge of native Tungus phonology.

   Another problem which has been alluded to in the Lexicon (see the discussion under arga) involves the reflex for Mongol *-rg-. Such forms as suje, nuja, and seje are classified as early loans from Mongol, and show the sound change *-rg- > -ǰ-. Yet arga, from an earlier period, and mergen, from the same period, fail to show the expected sound change.

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VITA

William Vincent Rozycki was born August 1, 1949 in Duluth, Minnesota. He spent his early years in the lumber town of Cloquet, Minnesota and moved with his parents to Minneapolis in 1956. He attended De La Salle High School, situated in Minneapolis on an island in the Mississippi River, and graduated in 1967. That same year he entered the University of Minnesota, from which he received a Bachelor's degree in Russian Language in 1971.

In 1972 Mr. Rozycki entered the Peace Corps of the United States and served for two years as an English instructor at Hangook University of Foreign Studies in Seoul, Korea. He then returned to America and began graduate studies in the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies of Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. In 1978 he received a Master's degree in Altaic Studies. While working on his doctoral dissertation he published, in 1981, A Reverse Index of Manchu.

Mr. Rozycki has traveled widely in Asia and the Soviet Union and presently makes his home in Japan.